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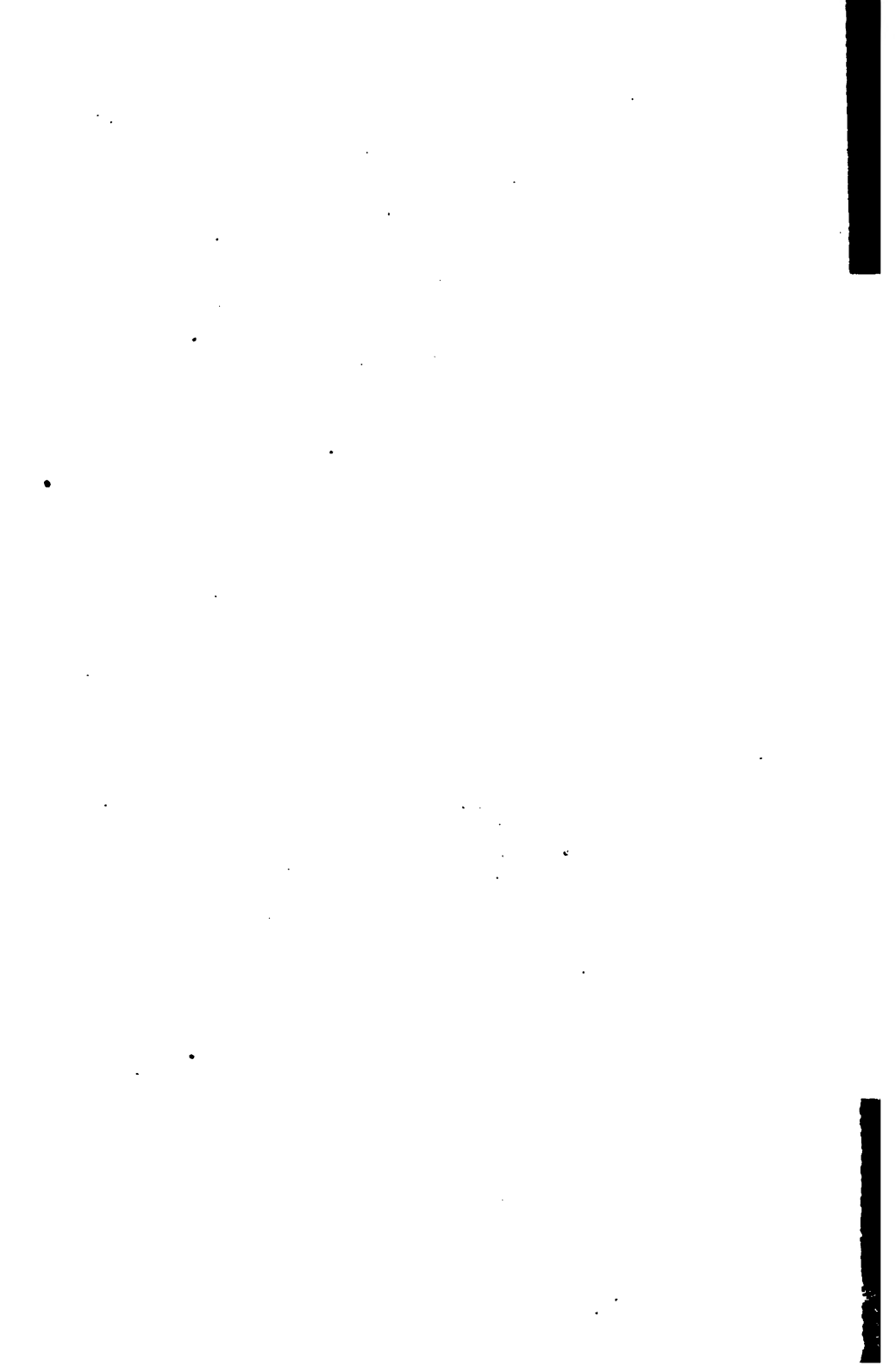
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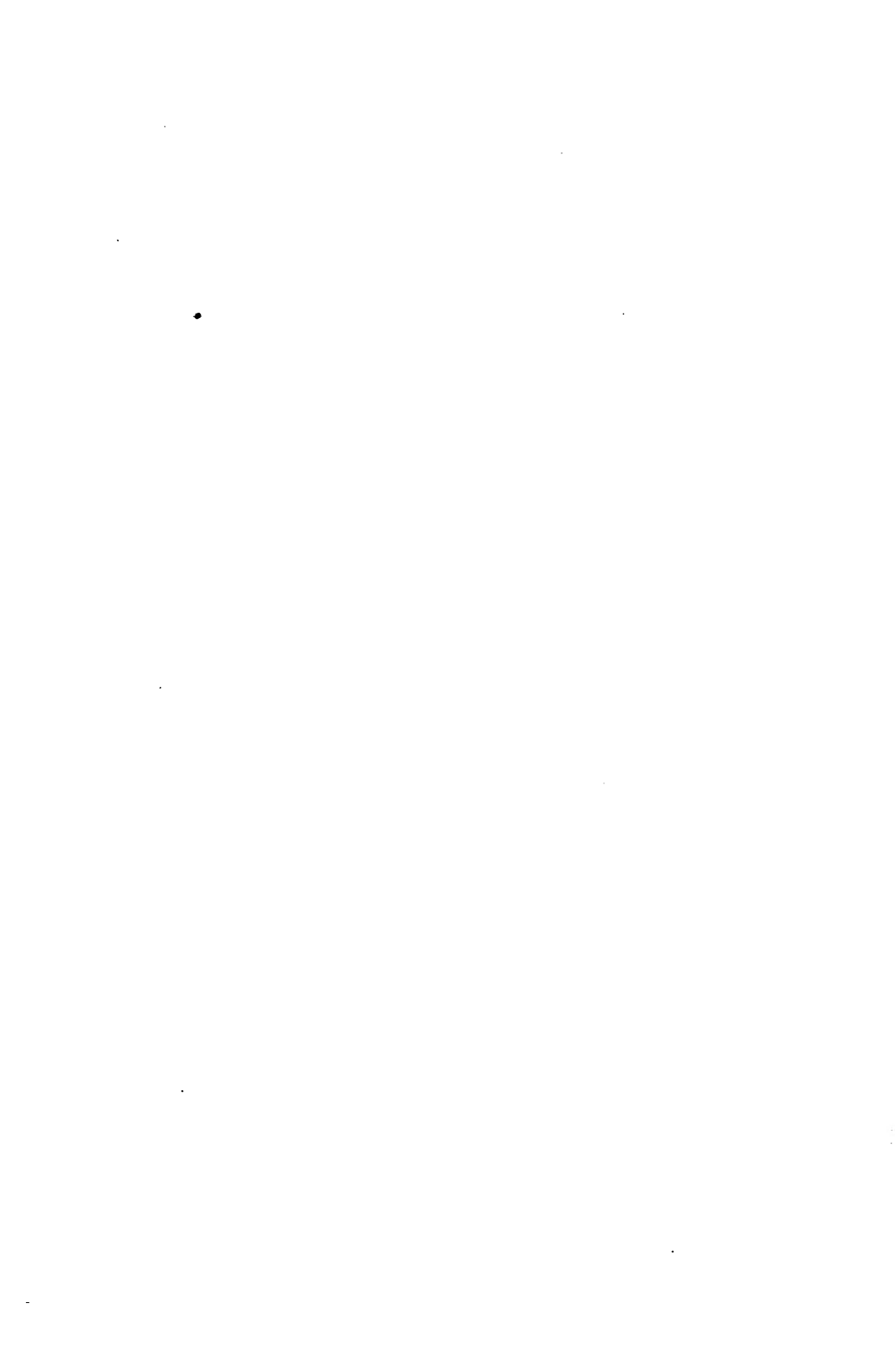
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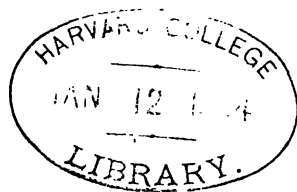
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AGRAPHA.

SAYINGS OF OUR LORD NOT RECORDED IN THE GOSPELS.

It must at any time be interesting to a Christian to recover, to examine and to consider the historical character and authority of any saying attributed to Him "who spake as never man spake"; but there are two causes which make such an examination of special interest at present.

In the first place, the commanding importance which recent textual criticism assigns to the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. of the Gospels has one striking result. It makes it, at any rate, possible, and, indeed, probable that some sayings of our Lord which we have been accustomed to regard as integral parts of the Gospel narrative are not such, but are the later additions of copyists; in other words, they have to be relegated to the list of Agrapha, and we have to consider their authority as such. These do not amount to a large number; the following list being, I believe, complete of those sayings which might have to be omitted from all the Gospels.

- St. Matt. vi. 13. The doxology of the Lord's prayer (om. W. H., and R.V. adding it in margin).
- St. Mark ix. 29. "And fasting." (Ditto.)
- " " ix. 49. "And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt." (Ditto.)
- " " xvi. 15-18. (W. H. bracket; R.V. inserts in text but om. in margin.)
- St. Luke ix. 55: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them." (Om. R.V. and W. H. but both insert in margin.)
- St. Luke xxiii. 34. "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." (W. H. bracket; R.V. omits in margin.)
- St. John viii. 7, 11. (Om. W. H.; R.V. brackets.)

There are, of course, other passages containing narrative of fact which are treated in the same way in modern texts, but these are the only sayings of our Lord which are affected. For the present it is sufficient to enumerate them. I hope to speak more fully of them later on.

Again, the tendencies—I shrink from calling them proved results—of the internal criticism of the Synoptic Gospels, in the attempt to trace their genesis and literary connection, also have a bearing on this subject. The common tendency at the present moment is to trace four distinct stages in this genesis. First, there was the purely oral stage—the stage of oral tradition (*παράδοσις*) and catechetical instruction (*κατήχησις*) implied in the preface of St. Luke; secondly, the compilation of some written documents, now lost, which embodied this tradition and were ultimately incorporated in the Canonical Gospels: then followed the compilation of the Canonical Gospels using these lost documents, and being also to some extent dependent upon each other. These three stages might seem to complete the process; but there are grounds for thinking that yet a fourth stage took place, and that after the Canonical Gospels were compiled, they were affected by the free handling of the scribes who copied them, completing the Gospel before them by reminiscences from the other Gospels, or by illustrations drawn from other sources, whether written or oral. Thus Dr. Sanday writes in his account of the Gospels in the new edition of the *Dictionary of the Bible*. “The earliest written records were not composed by literary men, and those into whose hands they fell would not treat them as we treat books, least of all as we treat the Bible. There was a sacredness about them no doubt, but the sacredness attached to the things recorded, not to the record.” And again: “The first copies of these Gospels fell into the hands probably of disciples, men of simple and unsophisticated character who were not bound

by any strict ideas as to the duties of copyists to preserve exact diplomatic accuracy. They did not hesitate to alter a word here or a word there, sometimes to give a greater point, sometimes to prevent a possible misunderstanding, perhaps even adding short supplementary bits of narrative that reached them through oral tradition. Nor can we confine this process entirely to the first copyists; it went on even into the second century. Its dying embers are seen in the additions which are found in the documents of the Western text, perhaps also in some which are characteristic of other lines of transmission."¹

Such a position, if it can be established, tends to show both that there existed in the earliest centuries a certain amount of floating tradition of our Lord's words and actions which had not been incorporated in the Gospels, and from which a copyist could draw material, and also that the line between the canonical and the uncanonical was not yet sharply drawn. There may then well have been a larger number of these Agrapha than we are accustomed to think, and they may very well include much that is genuine.

The sources of our knowledge of these sayings are three-fold:—

(a) The first and surest is to be found in the other books of the New Testament itself.

Here we have one undoubted saying in Acts xx. 25: "It is more blessed to give than to receive," a saying which reappears in later writers in a slightly variant form, "He who gives is blessed above him that receives" (*μακάριος ὁ δίδους ὑπὲρ τὸν λαμβάνοντα*). We have here, perhaps, two separate versions of one Aramaic original.

¹ *Dict. Bible*, ed. 1893, p. 1222 b, and p. 1238 a. The student should also consult Dr. Sanday's articles in *THE EXPOSITOR* of 1891. The Rev. A. Wright, *On the Composition of the four Gospels*, Macmillan & Co., 1890, and P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evangelien-frage*, Leipzig, 1890.

Again in St. James i. 12: "He shall receive *the* crown of life *which the Lord promised* to them that love Him," more than one commentator, including Mr. Mayor in his recent edition, has seen in these words a semi-quotation of some saying of Christ's. It is of course possible that the words are loosely quoted from some O. T. passage (*e.g.* Wisdom v. 16), but they are not exactly found anywhere, and the analogies of 2 Timothy iv. 8: "There is laid up for me *the* crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day"; 1 Peter v. 4: "And when the chief Shepherd shall be manifested, ye shall receive *the* crown of glory, which fadeth not away"; Revelations ii. 10: "I will give thee *the* crown of life," make it more probable that an Agraphon of the Lord's lies behind all these expressions. We shall see, when we come to examine Resch's theory, that it is possible that many other sayings are to be found in the Epistles and the Apocalypse, but these two stand on a different footing altogether, as containing a definite reference in the text itself to some already existing word or promise.

(b) The next source, both in amount and in authority, is supplied by some MSS. of the N. T. Under this head will fall all the sayings which we have quoted above on p. 1, and the well-known saying found in *Codex Bezae* at St. Luke vi. 5, to which we shall return.

(c) The last source consists of quotations in early Christian writers, and in lost Gospels; *e.g.*, though *Codex Bezae* and many of the later uncial and cursive MSS. of St. John are our present authority for the Pericope Adulteræ, yet it probably was borrowed by the first scribe who inserted it in the Fourth Gospel, either from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or from the writing of Papias, in both of which it was apparently embodied (*cf.* Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 39). The quotations of these sayings cease almost entirely after the fourth century, when the current Gospel text had

won its way to acceptance; the writers who contribute most to the list are (according to the careful list of authorities in Resch) the sub-Apostolic Fathers in the beginning of the second century; Clement of Alexandria, Origen and the pseudo-Clementine writings at the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries; and the books which bear on Church discipline and order, especially the Didascalia (250-300 A.D.) and the latest edition of the Apostolical Constitutions (c. 350), the editor of which is identified by Resch, as he had already been on other grounds by Harnack, with the interpolator of the Ignatian letters, and who is supposed by Resch to have gained access to some early Gospel preserved in the Library of Cæsarea.

No attempt will be made in these papers to give an exhaustive list of these sayings. Resch has collected 74 which he regards as genuine, 103 which he regards as apocryphal, and it would obviously be impossible to examine them all. Taking the list in Resch as my guide and making use of his numbers for reference, I shall attempt first to make a collection of such sayings as are of spiritual and doctrinal interest, and then to examine the particular theory of the Gospels which Resch has based upon them.¹

It is only in a very few cases that any of these sayings are set in an historical background. The most definite setting is that of the appearance of the risen Lord to James, which is quoted by Jerome from the Gospel according to

¹ English students will find useful lists in Westcott, *Introduction to the Gospels*, App. C., or in Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, i. pp. 162-7, who quotes a saying preserved in the Koran. "He who longs to be rich is like a man who drinks sea-water. The more he drinks, the more thirsty he becomes, and never leaves off drinking till he perishes." The fullest list is that in A. Resch. *Agrapha*: (in Gebhardt and Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 4) Leipzig, 1889. This is fuller than any other; it has a careful exegesis of each saying, gives complete quotations from the authorities and incidentally discusses the value of many of these authorities; but it is arbitrary and fanciful in parts and over-inclined to make everything subserve to a preconceived view of the criticism of the Gospels.

the Hebrews. His words are, "The Lord, after giving the linen cloth to the servant of the High Priest, went to James and appeared to him. For James had sworn that he would not eat bread from the hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord, until he should see Him risen from the dead. After a little while the Lord said, '*Bring a table and bread,*' and at once it is added that He took bread and gave thanks, and brake it and gave it to James the Just, and said unto him, '*My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man is risen from the dead.*'"

Resch classes this saying as doubtful, but the story is accepted as historical by Mr. Mayor,¹ and it bears out St. Paul's allusion to an appearance of the Risen Lord to James, and helps to account for his prominence in the Church of Jerusalem.

Another saying which has a bearing upon history, though it has scarcely an historical setting, is the command which, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, vi. 5, 43), and to Eusebius (*H. E.*, v. 18) was given by the Lord to the Apostles that they were to preach repentance to Israel at first and not to leave Jerusalem *for twelve years*, but then to go forth into the world, lest any should say, "We never heard."

But in the main they neither have historical setting nor affect the facts of the Lord's life. They do however often illustrate His teaching, and express it perhaps in a terser, more rememberable form than is found elsewhere. One of the most striking is hesitatingly authenticated by Origen in a Latin and unhesitatingly by Didymus in a Greek form. "*He that is near Me is near the fire; he that is far from Me is far from the kingdom*" (Resch, No. 5). In the letter of Ignatius to the Smyrneans (cap. iv.) there is to be found a saying very similar to this in form at least, "He that is near the sword is near God," and both Dr. Westcott and

¹ *Epistle of St. James*, p. xxxvii. note.

Dr. Lightfoot treat the two as parallel; but surely the meaning of the two is quite different. That is a saying of encouragement to the martyr, that suffering and death bring a man very close to God; but this is a saying of warning to the false professor, speaking of the danger of discipleship, because it implies drawing near to one who is a consuming fire, which must test and will destroy what does not stand the test. This is clearly the meaning in the context both of Origen and of Didymus. The former expands the words thus: "As he who is near me is near salvation, so is he near the fire; and he who hears my words and perverts what he has heard becomes a vessel prepared for destruction, for '*near Me is near the fire*'; but if any one in anxiety because he who is near me is near the fire, should keep far from me that he may not be near the fire, such an one will be far from the kingdom" (Hom. in Jer. xx. 8). So with equal clearness Didymus comments on Psalm lxxxviii. 8, "God is terrible because He inflicts penalties on those who oppose Him. For one who draws near to Him by having received the Divine teaching, if he then sins, becomes near the fire. Therefore the Saviour says, '*He who is near Me is near the fire, but he who is far from Me is far from the Kingdom.*'" The saying then is akin to those many sayings in which the Gospels emphasize the double effect of contact with Christ, and the danger of unreal profession. It may well be genuine, and should be compared with St. Mark ix. 49, St. Luke iii. 16, xii. 49.

The next that I will take (Resch, No. 9) is rather a complement to the gospel teaching, but may be genuine. "Woe to those who have and yet hypocritically take from others, who are able to help themselves and yet wish to take from others, for each man shall give account in the day of judgment." This saying is common in early Church regulations, but is first directly ascribed to our Lord in the

Apostolical Constitutions c. 350 A.D. The authentication is therefore not strong, but it is a useful pendant to the corresponding duty, "Give to every one that asketh," and may be recommended as a motto to the Charity Organisation Society.

The next (No. 15) might be taken as a motto by the Temperance Society, or the Purity Society, or indeed by the whole Church, to symbolize its entire work. "*That which is weak shall be saved by that which is strong*" (τὸ ἀσθενὲς διὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ σωθήσεται). Again the authentication is unfortunately rather weak; it is directly ascribed to the Lord in the Ecclesiastical Canons of the Holy Apostles (c. 300) but not earlier. Yet it well might have been uttered by the Physician who came to heal the sick, by Him who, though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor, by Him who, while we were yet weak, died for us, and who sent out those whom He had made strong that they might strengthen their brethren.¹

No. 17 appears in varying forms: "*My mystery is for Me and for those that are Mine,*" or "*Guard My mysteries for Me and for the sons of My house.*"

A phrase very similar to this is found in the LXX. translation of Isaiah xxiv. 16, "My mystery for Me, My mystery for Me," but this is scarcely sufficient to account for the fuller saying in either of its forms, and it is definitely attributed to our Lord by Clement of Alexandria, as well as by late writers, Clement adding that it was found "in some Gospel." There is certainly no internal reason for refusing to believe in its genuineness, it is exactly parallel in meaning to St. Mark iv. 11, "Unto you is given the mystery of the kingdom of God; but unto them that are without all things are done in parables," and the same

¹ Resch seems to be quite wrong in quoting as parallel the words of Minucius Felix, "Strength is made strong by infirmities," which is to be compared with 2 Corinthians xii. 10, on which it was probably based.

spirit of carefully guarding the truth and teaching only to those who are capable of receiving it is to be found in St. Paul. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 6-8, a closer parallel than 1 Cor. v. 1, which Resch quotes in illustration.

No. 21 has perhaps left a clearer mark upon St. Paul's language. It runs thus: "*There shall be schisms and heresies*" (ἔσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἰρέσεις). This is quoted as our Lord's by Justin Martyr, by the Clementine Homilies, and by the Didascalia. The words require no comment, and there is nothing to be urged against their possible genuineness, but their main interest lies in the fact that they seem to give a new point to the language of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xi. 18-19: "I hear that schisms exist among you, and I partly believe it. For there must also be heresies among you." Did St. Paul mean, "That well-known saying of the Lord's, which you know already, must needs be fulfilled in all its extent"?

No. 27 is the well-known addition in *Codex Bezae* to St. Luke vi. 4. "On the same day, beholding one working on the Sabbath, He said unto him, *Man, if thou knowest what thou doest, blessed art thou: but if thou knowest not, accursed art thou and a transgressor of the law.*" It is strange that a saying so far-reaching should stand absolutely unsupported, but Resch has not been able to produce any single reference to it in patristic writers. Yet it well may be a genuine tradition. Both sides of the truth can be supported from the Gospels: the first in our Lord's claim to control the Sabbath and His assertion about the Sabbath, "My Father worketh hitherto and I work" (St. John iv. 17); the second in his insistence at the beginning of His ministry on the binding character of the law. "Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy but to fulfil" (St. Matt. v. 17). As Resch points out, the first part is the side of the truth which was afterwards developed by St. Paul; the second is that insisted

on by St. James. In this saying of our Lord we may have the fountain head of both streams of teaching.

No. 30 is of somewhat the same kind ; but though Resch treats it as genuine, it seems to me very doubtful. It is contained in Clement Rom. ii. 12: "The Lord Himself being asked by a certain person when His kingdom would come, said, '*When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female*'"; and from Clement of Alexandria we learn that it was first found in the Gospel of the Egyptians. Now there is no doubt that striking parallels to this saying can be found in the N.T. Resch points to Ephesians ii. 14, "He is our peace, *who made both one*," of the union of Jew and Gentile; St. Matthew xxiii. 26, "Cleanse first the inside . . . that the outside may become clean also"; Galatians iii. 28, "There is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus," and others; yet the whole seems too *riddling* to be quite in the spirit of the Master. The Egyptian Gospel has been suspected of an encratite origin, and therefore of a desire to depreciate marriage; and the earliest comment, that in the Homily of St. Clement, does not bear out the reference of the first words to the union of Jew and Gentile. The comment is interesting enough to be worth adding. "Now *the two are one* when we speak truth among ourselves, and in two bodies there shall be one soul without dissimulation. And by *the outside as the inside* he meaneth this: by the inside He meaneth the soul, and by the outside the body. Therefore in like manner as thy body appeareth, so also let thy soul be manifest in its good works. And by *the male with the female, neither male nor female*, He meaneth this: that a brother seeing a sister should have no thought of her as of a female, and that a sister seeing a brother should not have any thought of him as of a male. These things, if ye do, saith He, the kingdom of My Father shall come!"

We come now to the two sayings which are the most frequently quoted of all.

The first, No. 39, runs thus: "*In whatever state I find you, in that I will also judge you*" (ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς καταλάβω, ἐν τούτοις καὶ κρινῶ); or slightly differently, "*Of whatever character (οἶον) I find you, as such (τοιούτου) will I also judge you.*" This is as early as Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.*, 1 c. 47), and Resch has adduced no less than fifteen illustrations from later writers. The ambiguity of form makes the exact meaning a little doubtful. It may either emphasize the Christian's responsibility for all his actions; he must not embark on any task in which he could not face his judge; and might be illustrated by the story told of St. Francis of Sales, who once, when playing chess, was asked what he would do if he knew that the Lord's coming was at hand, and made answer, "Finish the game; for His glory I began it." Or again, it may express the truth contained in Ezekiel xxxiii. 11-20, that men will be judged not merely by what they have been in the past, but by what they are at the time of the coming. This would be like the warning given at the end of the Didache (cap. 16), "Ye shall gather yourselves together frequently, seeking what is fitting for your souls; for the whole time of your faith shall not profit you, if ye be not perfected at the last season." This is undoubtedly the meaning in the original passage in Justin Martyr, who quotes the saying as an illustration of Ezekiel's teaching.

For No. 43, "*Prove yourselves trustworthy money-changers (γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται)*", Resch has accumulated no less than sixty-nine quotations. The writers sometimes attribute it to St. Paul; sometimes quote it loosely as Scripture; but it is treated as a quotation from the Gospels by Cæsarius († 368 A.D.), and directly attributed to our Lord by Origen, by the Gnostic treatise *Πλάτεις Σοφία* (c. 250 A.D.), by the Clementine Homilies, and by Jerome.

Doubts have been felt as to its exact meaning; *e.g.*, M. Renan, taking the parable of the unjust steward as his clue, saw in it a command to make a right use of riches; but the mass of illustrations quoted by Resch show beyond all possible doubt that the meaning is, "Show yourselves good critics," like money-changers who reject counterfeit coins. It is used by Clement of Alexandria as a proof that Scripture wishes Christians to be true dialecticians, able to examine things, to test forces and powers, and so to ascend beyond phenomena to the conception of God. It is used more than once in the Clementine Homilies of the duty of distinguishing between true and false Scriptures (ii. 51, iii. 50); in a word, the best comment upon it is to be found in the language of St. Paul, which is often amalgamated with it, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good; abstain from every form of evil" (1 Thess. v. 21).

The next saying (No. 64) has not a very trustworthy attestation. It comes to us only on the authority of Ephraim the Syrian († 378), and might easily arise out of an expansion of the Lord's words in St. Matthew xviii. 20. But the passage is interesting, and the truth is important. It runs thus:—

"As Christ provided for the needs of His flock in all their wants, so He consoled those who live a solitary life with the words, '*Where one is, there too am I*' (*ubi unus est, ibi et ego sum*), that none of those who are solitary may be sad, because He Himself is our joy and He Himself is with us. So too, '*Where two are, there too will I be*,' because His mercy and grace overshadow us. And when we are three, then we combine to form a Church, which is the perfect body of Christ and His express image."

In all the above cases there is more or less evidence directly connecting the sayings with our Lord. I will conclude with a few sayings where the connection is less

definite; they are quoted as from Scripture or from the Gospels, and are assigned by Resch to our Lord Himself. Whether His or not, they are of interest as early Christian sayings, but it will not be necessary to dwell on them at length.

No. 1. "*Everything that thou wouldest wish not to be done to thee, do thou not to another,*" or "*That which thou hatest, thou shalt not do to another.*" (ὃ μισεῖς σοὶ γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ ποιήσεις.)

This, which is very common in early Christian writers, and has even found its way into some MSS. of the New Testament as an addition to Acts xv. 20, is the negative side of the golden rule, and is probably to be traced ultimately to a Jewish origin, the latter form of it being found in Tobit iv. 15.

No. 18. "*Cleave unto the saints, for they who cleave to them shall be sanctified.*" (κολλᾶσθε τοῖς ἁγίοις, ὅτι οἱ κολλώμενοι αὐτοῖς ἁγιασθήσονται.)

This again is a frequent saying, being found as early as Clement of Rome (i. 46) and the Shepherd of Hermas, and quoted there as scripture; but it is not actually attributed to our Lord, and the source of it cannot be identified. It supplies an illustration of St. Paul's use of the verb ἁγιάζειν in 1 Corinthians vii. 14, though it seems precarious to assume with Resch that the saying was known to St. Paul.

No. 61 is interesting but of doubtful exegesis. It runs thus—"Behold a man and his work" (ἴδου ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ). This is interpreted by Resch as referring to the Son of Man, and it is doubtless true that very similar words are found in the LXX. of Isaiah lxii. 11 of the coming of the Lord. But, on the other hand, the passages in which the saying occurs seem to require that the words should be referred to each human being as he comes before the Judge to be tried for his works. Thus Tertullian writes *De Idololatr.*, c. xx., "Conduct according to the divine rule is im-

perilled not only by deeds but also by words, for as it is written, '*Behold a man and his deeds*,' so also is it written, '*Out of thy mouth shalt thou be justified*.' " No less clear is St. Augustine's use of the saying (*Meditations*, c. xxxix.), "Woe to me, wretched man, when the day of judgment shall have come, and the books of the conscience shall be open, when they shall say of me, '*Behold the man and his works*' (ecce homo et opera ejus)."

No. 65 is perhaps the most striking of all these sayings. "*Thou hast seen thy brother, thou hast seen thy Lord*."

This is quoted in a Latin form by Tertullian (*De Orat.*, c. 26), "*Vidisti, inquit, fratrem tuum, vidisti dominum tuum*," and twice in the rather stronger Greek form by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, i. 19, ii. 15), εἶδες τὸν ἀδελφόν σου, εἶδες τὸν θεόν σου. In neither case is it attributed to the Lord, and indeed, although it expresses the truth so dear to the Lord of His presence in each of the least of His little ones, the form of it rather suggests a later writer adopting that principle.

We will add, with the same brevity of comment, a few more which Resch classes as apocryphal, and which probably are such, but yet have an interest of their own.

Apokr. No. 8. "*Never be joyful, save when you look upon your brother's countenance in love*."

This is definitely ascribed to our Lord by St. Jerome, who quotes it from the Hebrew gospel, nor is it obvious why Resch decides against its genuineness.

No. 11. "*He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall find rest*."

The authority of this is again the Gospel according to the Hebrews, as quoted by Clement of Alexandria, but it is not ascribed to our Lord.

No. 22. "*Blessed are they that mourn for the loss of unbelievers*."

This is an interesting illustration of 1 Corinthians v. 2, and is quoted as from the same Gospel, but not ascribed to the Lord.

No. 60. "*Blessed is he who also fasts that he may feed the poor.*"

This is quoted by Origen as an apostolical saying, and its interest lies in the twofold fact that it suggests the utilitarian ground for fasting to help others, and also hints that a deeper and more spiritual ground lies behind. For the former compare the description of the Christians given in The Apology of Aristides, c. xv. : "If there is among them a man that is poor and needy, they fast two or three days, that they may supply the needy with necessary food."

The last three which will be given are attributed not to our Lord, but to one or other of His Apostles. Thus Clement of Alexandria credits Matthias with two sayings, one of which expresses the solidarity of mankind and our consequent responsibility for the sin of others ; the other treats this world as the basis of our knowledge of God. Thus in *Strom.*, vii. 13, "*If the neighbour of an elect man sin, the elect sinned himself,*" and the comment is added, "for had he lived as reason bids, his neighbour also would have been shamed out of sinning by the example of his life" ; and again, *Strom.*, ii. 9, "*Wonder at the things of this world, taking this as the first step for the knowledge that lies beyond.*" The saying is too Platonic to be purely Apostolic, but it summarizes the truth that lies in Pantheism and Anthropomorphism, the truth which is expressed in the words of a recent poem :—

"Man's nature is God's oracle, and grace
Is to know nature as He made it first."

Finally, Gregory of Nazianzus ascribes to St. Peter the words which many a Christian pastor has found true by the side of a sick bed, "*A suffering soul is nigh to God*" (*κἀμνουσα ψυχὴ ἐγγύς ἐστι θεοῦ*).

I have been led by the interest of Resch's collection to digress beyond the limits which the exact subject of this paper would have imposed. I hope to return in another paper to that subject, and consider the theory which Resch bases upon the facts which he has collected.

W. LOCK.

*PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES
RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND AU-
THORITY OF THE MOSAIC BOOKS.*

STUDENTS of nature who are also Christians, have a special interest in the pending controversies respecting the Pentateuch. The methods of critical dissection now applied to those books, referring as they do so much more to external form, which may be accidental and perishable, than to substantial reality, necessarily appear somewhat superficial and unscientific to men accustomed to deal with unquestionable or verifiable natural facts.

Should their result be to discredit, even for a time, the testimony of the early books of our Bible, the consequences may be serious to the progress of science as well as to the higher interests of society in general. To science these books have been of inestimable value, as establishing in the popular mind a broad basis for scientific work. Their distinct testimony to the unity of nature, as the product of one design, to the unity of man, to the progressive development of the creative work, and to the regulation of all things by invariable law, has emancipated the human mind from tendencies the most hostile to true progress. From want of this influence in bygone times, and even yet in certain places, the scientific study of nature has been hampered on the one hand by ecclesiastical bigotry and by pagan superstitions, and on the other by popular dis-

turbances and extreme revolutionary movements. Past experience warns us that even the present generation may see all science swept away except that which is immediately promotive of national wealth, or of the arts of defence and destruction. This may happen either at the hand of a reckless democracy or of a brutal bigotry; but it can never happen so long as the Bible is a household book.

Another aspect of this matter touches a higher plane than that of natural science. Many of the more advanced Biblical critics are not ashamed to attribute fraud and even conspiracy to the authors of the early books of the Bible, and yet these critics profess to attach to these forged documents a certain religious value. Such moral obliquity is a two-edged sword, cutting every way against the interests of society, and must have a potent influence in favour of those causes of moral disintegration which science and humanity have so much reason to dread.

The reflex influence of these ideas on Christianity itself is also most serious. The Old Testament constitutes the historical foundation of Christianity, on which Jesus and His disciples built their whole system of belief, and to the genuineness and validity of which they bore the most decided testimony. If this foundation be removed, the teaching of Christ and the Apostles may become of as little value as would that of the priests and scribes who are alleged to have palmed a fictitious Deuteronomy on good King Josiah.

These considerations are at least sufficient to justify a close if friendly investigation and scrutiny of the results of higher criticism. It may be added that the Bible is a book full of references to natural facts and to those problems relating to the early history of man which belong to the domain of archæology, and that in our time the pick and spade of the excavator, the measurements and observations

of the topographer and geologist, the collections of the zoologist and botanist and the study of ancient monuments and inscriptions have thrown a flood of light on previously obscure portions of Holy Writ.

The scientific worker may thus claim the right, however humbly and tentatively, to study for himself from his own point of view these ancient records, and to place before the world, at least in the form of suggestions for inquiry, such points as strike his attention in his reading of the Old Testament, however trifling and unimportant they may seem in the estimation of literary specialists. This, as a student of nature and the Bible, I propose with all humility to do.

I am not unaware of the evils that threaten humanity from agnostic evolution, and that this has been too much fostered by scientific men; but the advanced evolutionists and the advanced critics have long since united their forces, and true Christianity and true science are now face to face with both. It is not necessary, however, to take a pessimistic view of the situation. The observation and study of fifty years have shown me the rise and fall of several systems of philosophy and criticism, and the Word of God still abides and becomes wider in its influence.

It may be useful in the first place to define the terms employed in the heading of this article.

The term physical may be taken in the broad sense of what is termed physiography, as including all natural facts, or facts relating to natural things; questions therefore of geography, of physical features, and of physical changes which may have occurred in the places referred to in the Bible. If, for example, in the narratives of Eden, of the Deluge, of the Exodus, or of the Cities of the Plain, we find references to natural conditions existing at an early date, which have passed away and have been forgotten, we may obtain indications of the dates of these narratives;

just as if, in annals relating to southern Italy, we should find that the writer had no knowledge of Mount Vesuvius, but only of its predecessor, the tree-clad circle of Mount Somma, we should know that he had lived before the year 79 of the Christian era, and might still believe this even if we found in the writing certain substitutions for obsolete words, or interpolated notes.

In regard to archæology and history, we may have similar evidence. An event stated or a person referred to in one record only, may remain uncertain, or may be accepted with some reserve on the testimony of a single witness; but a coin, an inscription or a writing of an independent author, may at once carry such event or person into the domain of certainty, and would sweep away a host of doubts that might have been conjured up by apparent inconsistencies or defects in the original document.

In any case it cannot be denied that such evidence, whether physical or historical, deserves consideration, and this is all that I shall ask; though for simplicity I may use, as a working hypothesis, the supposition that the ancient Hebrew leader Moses was an actual personage, and that he may have written or edited books to which tradition has attached his name, and of certain portions of which he is in the documents themselves explicitly stated to have been the author.

The first of our illustrations may be grouped around this idea of the personality of Moses, and will refer principally to the Book of Genesis and the earlier part of Exodus.

We need not attach much importance to the objection taken to the story of the infancy of Moses, on the ground that there are other old legends of infants committed to the waters for safety. Even if the ancient Assyrian king Sargon had been similarly preserved ages before Moses, and even if Jochebed had known the tale, the only fair inference

would be that it may have given a hint of which she availed herself. But there are in the story of Moses certain coincidences, in the nature of the oppression, the places where the Israelites were employed, and the two midwives, with some recent discoveries in Egypt, which deserve notice in this connection.

We owe to the labours of Prof. Flinders Petrie¹ the excavation of a town now called Kahun, in the Nile Valley, near the entrance to the Fayoum. It was a temporary group of mud tenements erected for the labourers, mostly slaves and captives, assembled in a gang for what the French in modern Egypt would have termed a *Corvée* or forced labour, for the erection of a brick pyramid for Usurtesen II., a Pharaoh of the twelfth dynasty, and who may have lived a thousand years before Moses. Under the floors of the huts of these poor people were found numerous skeletons of infants packed in common boxes. Whether these babes died from neglect and carelessness, or were purposely destroyed, we do not know; but the latter is not improbable in the circumstances, and, if so, it would afford a more ancient instance of the policy of the Pharaoh of the oppression, who, if he was the great Rameses, had more ample means than his predecessor Usurtesen to carry out forced labour on a large scale. Prof. Petrie's original account of the buried infants of Kahun is in the following graphic terms:—"Many new-born infants were found under the floors of the chambers, and, strange to say, usually in boxes which by their forms were made for other purposes. In short, unlucky babes seemed to have been conveniently put out of the way by stuffing them into a toilet case or clothes box, and digging a hole in the floor for them. I fear these discoveries do not reflect much credit upon the manners and customs of the small officials of the twelfth dynasty."

¹ *Illahun, Kahun, and Garob*, 1890.

We read that the Hebrews were employed in building two store-cities or arsenal fortresses, Pithom and Rameses. The site of Pithom, near the eastern end of the Wady Tumilat, has been definitely ascertained by Naville. That of Rameses was probably at the western end of the same valley, where it opens on the Delta, the distance between the two places being thus about thirty miles. It would seem that two gangs were employed simultaneously at these places, no doubt lodged in mud huts and guarded by soldiers to prevent escape. This accounts for the two midwives, for the Egyptians were systematic even in their oppressions, and there would be an official accoucheur for each gang, whose duty it would be to save alive or to destroy the children born in the *Corvée*, as might be directed from headquarters. Thus the whole proceeding of Pharaoh might have been in accordance with very ancient precedent, though of a kind more appropriate to foreign prisoners than to people like the Israelites, long naturalized in the country. Perhaps it was this circumstance that excited the compassion of the midwives, and perhaps it was the gratitude of the Hebrew mothers and their friends that was the means employed by God to "build them houses." These incidental points render it probable that Moses was born at Rameses, rather than at Pithom, as the Court is more likely to have been at the former place, and the river of the story was either the eastern branch of the Nile or the canal flowing from it through Wady Tumilat, the land of Goshen. We may also infer that Jochebed and her husband were actual labourers in the *Corvée*, and therefore subject to all the bitterness of "hard service" to which their people were subjected. It is curious also that discoveries published in 1891 in respect to another instance, far separated in time and place, now for the first time enable us fully to understand these quaint incidents, which would not have occurred to any but a contemporary annal-

ist, and are stated by him as matters of course without a word of comment. There could not surely be a better illustration of the antiquity of the story.¹

That a child ushered into life in circumstances so unfavourable should exercise so important an influence in the world, is in itself a marvel, or would have been so had it not led to his adoption into the royal family of Egypt, and in the palmy days of the great nineteenth dynasty, and probably in the reign of one of the most illustrious of the Pharaohs, Rameses II. It is true that attempts have been made to fix the date differently, but the recent discoveries of Naville at Pithom seem definitely to settle the date of the building of that city, as in the reign of the great Rameses; and not only its inscriptions but its structure, and its bricks, some with and some without straw, tally with the Biblical account. Moses may thus be identified with the Osarsiph of Manetho (though some regard this name as belonging to Joseph, or as arising from confounding him with Moses, a not unnatural mistake), or with the Arisu or Areos of the great Harris papyrus, names which represent a Semitic leader of rebellion in the troubled times which succeeded the reign of Rameses II. and closed the nineteenth dynasty. This papyrus, a historical document written in the reign of Rameses III., testifies that at the close of the three or four short reigns after the great Rameses, occupying in all about twenty years, an emigration from Egypt took place, and that there was a time of anarchy, followed by a new dynasty inaugurated by the father of Rameses III.

The Hebrew and Egyptian records thus concur in the fact that great disasters occurred at the close of the nineteenth dynasty, and probably in the reign of Siptah, its last king, the regency of whose queen Ta-user, and his unoccu-

¹ The reference to the "birth-stools" in Exodus i. 16 is another incidental touch of ancient Egyptian rather than Hebrew customs.

pied tomb usurped by a succeeding king, testify to his disastrous and untimely end.¹

The first and most important fact here for our present purpose, is that the period to which the Hebrew lawgiver is thus assigned, is that of the culmination of Egyptian art and literature, and is marked by a similar degree of enlightenment in Babylonia, Phœnicia, and southern Arabia.

We are only beginning to understand the height of civilization to which Egypt and other ancient countries around the Mediterranean had attained even before the time of Moses. Maspero and Tomkins² have illustrated the extent and accuracy of the geographical knowledge of the Egyptians of this period. The latter closes a paper on this subject with the following words: "The Egyptians, dwelling in their green, warm river-course and on the watered levels of their Fayoum and Delta, were yet a very enterprising people, full of curiosity, literary, scientific in method, admirable delineators of nature, skilled surveyors, makers of maps, trained and methodical administrators of domestic and foreign affairs, kept alert by the movements of their great river, and by the necessities of commerce, which forced them to the Syrian forests for their building timber, and to Kush and Pun for their precious furniture-woods and ivory, to say nothing of incense, aromatics, cosmetics, asphalt, exotic plants, and pet and strange animals, with a hundred other needful things." The heads copied by Petrie, from Egyptian tombs, show that the physical features of all the peoples inhabiting the surrounding countries were well known to them, as well as their manners, industries, and arts. The papers of Lockyer³ have shown that long before the Mosaic age the dwellers by the Euphrates and the Nile had mapped out the heavens, ascer-

¹ See as to this, Kellog's *Stone Lecture*, 1877.

² Papers on the Lists of Thothmes III. at Karnak.

³ *Nature*, 1892-3.

tained the movements of the moon and planets, established the zodiacal signs, discriminated the poles of the ecliptic and the equator, ascertained the laws of eclipses and the precession of the equinoxes, and, in fact, had worked out all the astronomical data which can be learned by observation, and had applied them to practical uses. Lockyer would even ask us to trace this knowledge as far back as 6,000 years B.C., or into the post-glacial or antediluvian period ; but however this may be, astronomy was a very old science in the time of Moses, and it is quite unnecessary to postulate a late date for the references to the heavens in Genesis or in Job. In geodesy and allied arts also, the Egyptians had long before this time attained to a perfection never since excelled, so that our best instruments can detect no errors in very old measurements and levellings. The arts of architecture, metallurgy, and weaving had attained to the highest development. Canalization and irrigation, with their consequent agriculture and cattle-breeding, were old and well-understood arts ; and how much of science and practical sagacity is needed for regulating the distribution of Nile water, any one may learn who will refer to the reports of Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff and his assistants. Sculpture and painting in the age of Moses had attained their acme, and were falling into conventional styles. Law and the arts of government had become fixed and settled. Theology and morals, and the doctrine of rewards and punishments, had been elaborated into complex systems. Ample materials existed for history, not only in monuments and temple inscriptions, but in detailed writings on papyrus. Egypt has left a wealth of records of this kind unsurpassed by any nation, and very much of these belongs to the time before Moses ; while, as Birch has truly said, the Egyptian historical texts are, "in most instances, contemporaneous with the events they record, and written or executed under public control." There was also abundance of poetical and

imaginative literature, and treatises on medicine and other useful arts. At the Court of Pharaoh correspondence was carried on with all parts of the civilized world, in many languages, and in various forms of writing, including that of Egypt itself, that of Chaldea, and probably also the alphabetical writing afterwards used by the Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Greeks, but which seems to have originated at a very early period among the Mineans, or Punites, of south Arabia.¹ Education was carried on in institutions of various grades, from ordinary schools to universities. In the latter, we are told, were professors or "mystery teachers" of Astronomy, Geography, Mining, Theology, History and Languages, as well as many of the higher technical arts. A college song, of earlier date than that of Moses, which has been preserved to us,² shows indeed that these higher institutions did not condescend to the mere mechanic arts, but were intended to prepare their students for public life and for the more learned professions.

This knowledge was, of course, not diffused among the servile population, though even slaves were sometimes educated as scribes; but then we are told that Moses had the advantage of studying in the highest colleges of the country, and so of being learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and of obtaining access to all the literary treasures of the temple libraries, while he would also have the benefit of any ancient lore in the Chaldean script which Jacob may have brought from Canaan; and in his sojourn in Midian he might have access to the Minean letters and literature. I may remark here, in passing, that it would now seem that the language and theology of the book of Job can be better explained by supposing it to be a portion of Minean literature obtained by Moses in Midian, than in any other way. This view also agrees better than any

¹ Discoveries of Glaser, summarized by Sayce.

² *Records of the Past.*

other with its references to natural objects, the art of mining and other matters. We may have occasion to return to this question.

We may thus easily imagine that a man of ability and energy, having such opportunities, would be more widely and deeply cultivated, not merely than his contemporaries among the Israelites, but than any other Hebrew between the time of Rameses II. and that of Solomon. The literary productions of such a man are not to be judged of by any arbitrary theory of development taking place in a rude pastoral people. It is true generally, though by no means universally, that rude nations do not produce great literary works. Still the exceptions to this, even in early English and Anglo-Saxon literature, are noteworthy. But in the case of Moses he was intellectually a product of the ripened civilization of Egypt, naturally a man of power and genius, and, may we not add, spiritually a man very near to God. In contrast with this, the results of modern criticism of a certain type attribute the noble works which bear the name of Moses to unknown men living in times of comparatively little culture, when such writings were little needed, and leave nothing worthy of Moses or of the great and critical period in which he acted.

We should not however adopt exaggerated notions of the supposed rudeness of the Hebrews at the time of the conquest of Canaan. The Book of Exodus indeed affords good evidence of the existence of an impulsive and ignorant element among the emigrants from Egypt, and forty years of desert life while they might train in endurance and self-denial, and perhaps in more pure and simple manners, could not be favourable to progress in art and literature. It is surprising with what avidity the occurrence at the site of Lachish of remains of rude huts overlying the ruins of the old Amorite city has been seized on by a certain class of writers as evidence of the rudeness of the Israelites in

the time of Joshua. It really indicates nothing of the kind. The conquering Israelites were an army living in tents, and probably in no condition immediately to rebuild Lachish. They may have occupied its ruins with a temporary garrison or may have allowed the fugitive Amorites to return to the old site. But in either case we should expect the first buildings erected to be no better than those found by Petrie. The fact only marks the entire destruction of the town and the occupation of the site by people of few resources, as would be the case with the Amorites themselves after the burning of their city and the capture of their flocks and herds.

To return to the time of Moses, he may have had other sources of information not accessible to his Egyptian fellow-students. The discoveries at Tel-Loh¹ and elsewhere in Babylonia, have shown that there existed in the Chaldean plain, before the time of Abraham, a primitive civilization equally high with that of the early Egyptian dynasties, and, like it, deeply imbued with the idea of perpetuating personal history and national annals. The inscriptions on the statues of the ancient king Gudea are remarkable examples of this. It is thus in every way probable that the tribe of Abraham carried from the East records in the cuneiform character inscribed either on clay tablets or on prepared sheep-skins, and these would certainly be preserved and added to in the time of Joseph, if we may judge from the very numerous biographical sketches which have been obtained from Egyptian tombs. Such Semitic literature, if it existed, would certainly be accessible to Moses, as well as the family traditions which he might learn orally from his mother, and it would naturally be most interesting to him to compare these with Egyptian history and mythology.

¹ By Sarzao, noticed in *Journal Society of Bib. Literature, Quarterly Statement Palestine Exploration Fund and Records of the Past.*

Do not all these considerations eminently qualify Moses to be the historian of the primitive world, and is it possible to point to any other name in Hebrew literature having the same breadth of view or depth of information as the royal scribe of the nineteenth dynasty. Would not any writing of his be in advance of the men of his time, and would it be wonderful if it failed at first to leaven their minds, and if it should stand up through the ages as a light towering above that of all the chroniclers and prophets of later times, whose minds were less cultivated and more occupied with their immediate surroundings? I refer now to the man, not to the question of his Divine inspiration.

We may thus easily picture to ourselves the boy Moses, indoctrinated by his mother, who was also his nurse, in the traditions of his fathers, in their greatness in the time of Joseph, and their cruel bondage under the existing government; and no doubt taught also their simple ancestral faith, so different from the complex polytheism of Egypt. With these feelings strong within him, he enters the schools and colleges of Egypt, and as he drinks in the learning of that wonderful land compares it with what he has learned in his maternal home. Later he regards the whole matter in a practical light, and thinks that by his hand his people may be freed. He finds them unprepared; but as an exile and an older and wiser man, believes himself the commissioned agent of God for their deliverance, but, chastened by experience and by the Divine spirit, prepares to teach them in a plain and popular form those rudiments of history and those prophetic destinies which he has so long and painfully studied, along with that better and purer faith which had sustained Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in their long and eventful lives. Hence, according to a theory which seems to agree with all historical facts and to be thoroughly consistent in itself, arose the book of Genesis.

We have considered the personality of Moses and his

environment in Egypt with reference to the probable nature of his literary productions : but another element enters into the question. The task assigned to him was the liberation of a nation of serfs and their transference to a new region, physically different from that in which they had been born and nurtured. In connection with this he had to provide for them a new religion, and a political and social organization different from that of their Egyptian lords, or rather he had to revise and modernise old institutions and to develop them into a system suitable to the changed conditions of the people. To succeed in this it was necessary to arouse a religious enthusiasm sufficient to cause the Israelites to break entirely with Egypt and enter into a new life. In later times we have seen something similar effected on a far lower plane, in the great uprising of the Arabian tribes under Mohammed. What the Koran was to the Arabs the Book of Genesis may have been to the Israelites. Without any elaborate argument, but by a series of simple statements, it erected a monotheistic religion and converted into creatures of the one God all the objects which the heathen are wont to worship, and reduced to merely human forms heroes and demigods. It then asserted the Divine commission and promises given to Abraham and the patriarchs, and exalted them as the chosen friends of God, and the fathers of a chosen people. It thus stirred up the people with the enthusiasm of a new and pure religion, with the memories of former greatness, and with the promise of a great and glorious victory over their oppressors and the hope of a new and better country. It placed the original relations of the Israelites and Egyptians on the historic and memorable standpoint of the administration of Joseph. Could anything have been better fitted for the then existing crisis of the national affairs of the Hebrews, or more likely to lead to the practical facts of the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan ? Was there ever a time in the

history of the people when such a book was so likely to have been produced? Thus Genesis stands before us a great and masterful politico-religious tract for the time of Moses and the mission he had to fulfil, and fits into no other place in the Hebrew history. If it has outlasted its immediate occasion and has become the foundation of the religion not only of Israel but of the whole world, the lower reason may be found in its wonderful power combined with childlike simplicity, and in that world-embracing scope which provides for the blessing of all nations; the higher reason in the divine wisdom bestowed by God on his servant Moses, who more than any other Hebrew prophet was like unto the heaven-descended Son of man whose advent he foresaw.

But the personality of Moses appears in the Pentateuch in another way, much as that of Julius Cæsar appears in his Commentaries. There is no formal biography or laboured eulogy, such as might have been expected from later and inferior men, but a gradual development of character, appearing incidentally, here and there, from the beginning to the end. He appears first as an educated man, in the prime of life, strong and self-reliant, and fired with an ambition to be the deliverer of his people. Failing in the rash and impulsive attempt, he sinks into an obscure and quiet life in pastoral Midian, which may, however, have been a time of thought and study, and of learning in that ancient literature at the time existing in Arabia. Roused from inactivity by the vision of the burning bush, he is now diffident and full of distrust of himself, strongly impressed with the difficulty of his great mission, and scarcely reassured by the promise of Divine support. As he enters on his work we find him bold and resolute in the presence of the new Pharaoh, to whom he must have appeared almost as the apparition or "Ka" of a royal prince of the last generation, raised again from the dead; but in presence

of his own people depressed and bowed down by their unbelief and timidity, and constantly retiring from the king's obstinacy and the people's fears to the presence of God, from which he returns with renewed strength. It has been well said of him that to the people he was all God, to God nothing but the people; his own person and interests were nowhere. This grand self-abnegation appears through all his life, in the patience, forbearance, and kindness with which he led Israel like a flock, and in his willingness that he himself should perish if Israel thereby could be saved. Even the sad and pitiful visitation of his one sin of temper at Meribah by exclusion from the promised land, while a confession of infirmity, is a testimony to the high moral plane on which he moved.

The law which he is said to have given is in harmony with the man. It has of late been customary to speak of the harsh and cruel edicts of the law of Moses as unworthy of God. But what of the lofty morality of the decalogue, the merciful provisions for the poor, for strangers and for domestic animals; of the social and sanitary provisions which, according to recent statistics, still give the people who practise them an advantage in the struggle for existence over the people of the most civilized Gentile nations? Jesus Himself is here the best apologist for Moses, when He says of one of these laws, "It was because of the hardness of your hearts"—because they were not fit for better. In the case of that very law, that of divorce, the frightful laxity that has crept into some modern nations shows that they also are unfit as yet for the better law of Christianity. It is scarcely necessary to refer to the *Lex talionis*, the law of slavery and other enactments tending to limit evils which could not be altogether removed.

The end of Moses in the Pentateuch is unique, like his life. Excluded from the long wished-for Canaan, he sings, beyond Jordan, that glorious death-song, the poem of all

the ages down to the time when Christ shall bring into His rest the last sufferer from the persecutions of this evil world. After this last utterance, which even the hardest of the critics are scarcely disposed wholly to wrest from him, he sinks into that mysterious burial whence no relic-worshipper can extract any shred for superstitious veneration, and in connection with which no one can establish a shrine or place of pilgrimage.

Can it be supposed for a moment that such a career could have been imagined or patched together by Shaphan the scribe, or Hilkiah the high priest, or later and more obscure writers, especially if they were men of the moral character attributed to them by critics? The argument here is of the same character with that which convinced John Stuart Mill, that there must be a foundation of contemporaneous history underlying the life of Christ in the gospels.

Two objections have been taken to this argument. One is, that in the life of Moses there are many miracles, and that these prove a mythical element and later origin. Modern science has, however, removed the old objections to miracles which used to be discussed by metaphysicians and theologians; and a special consideration of those attributed to Moses shows, as we may see in the sequel, that they come within the range of physical possibility.

Another is, that while the Egyptian theology dealt largely and very precisely with a future life and resurrection, these elements do not appear in the teaching of Moses. Jesus, however, here is again the apologist of Moses, and shows that the belief in immortality and a future state is implied even in referring to God as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.¹ Still the doctrine of immediate retribution prevails in the Mosaic teaching. This, on the theory of Mosaic authorship, may be attributed to two reasons: one of a

¹ Matthew xxii. 32.

lower, and the other of a higher order. The Egyptian doctrine of a future life, in the time of Moses, had degenerated into a system of priestly absolution, which he seems to have been determined to discountenance as an abuse. Besides this, it seems to be implied in the Mosaic system that all Israel, as chosen of God and as professing faith in Him, is a holy people whose future happiness is guaranteed, but who are, nevertheless, subjects of Divine chastisement in this life. This is in some sense Christian doctrine as well. The Christian may believe his future inheritance sure, yet he knows that "whom God loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth." This is the kind of faith by which, in all ages, martyrs have been animated; and as we see in the New Testament itself, such faith is less likely to expatiate on pictures of heavenly bliss than to be occupied with the stern duties and responsibilities of the present. Such faith would be appropriate to the Mosaic age rather than to later times.

It is also to be observed that a new religion, arising in Egypt, would, from the standpoint of the critic or that of the "natural man," be likely to conform to Egyptian usages, especially in externals, while we should expect very strong contrasts in point of doctrine. Thus these peculiarities in the Mosaic religion agree with its probable origin in the time and place assigned to it, and not in any later period, when the Jews were more in contact with the nations of Asia.

The manner in which the writer of Genesis deals with the material at his disposal, demands a separate consideration.

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

THE PREMIER IDEAS OF JESUS.

I. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF CHARACTER.

- CHRISTIANS with a sense of fitness are not ambitious to claim originality for their Master, and have forgotten themselves when they ground Jesus' position on the brilliancy of His thought. They shrink, as by an instinct, from entering Jesus for competition with other teachers, and have Him so enshrined in the soul that to praise Him seems profanity. When a biographer of Jesus, more distinguished perhaps by his laborious detail than his insight into truth, seriously recommends Jesus to the notice of the world by certificates from Rousseau and Napoleon, or some light-hearted man of letters embroiders a needy paragraph with a string of names where Jesus is wedged in between Zoroaster and Goethe, the Christian consciousness is aghast. This treatment is not merely bad taste; it is impossible by any canon of thought; it is as if one should compare the sun with electric light, or the colour of Titian with the bloom of the rose. We criticise every other teacher; we have an intuition of Jesus. He is not a subject of study, He is a revelation to the soul—that or nothing. One does not dream of claiming intellectual pre-eminence for Jesus; one is ready, at this point, to make the largest admissions. Jesus is not a greater than Socrates; He does not come within the same category, raising no subtle problems, nor making fine swordplay with words. It is open to debate, indeed, whether Jesus said anything absolutely new, save when He taught the individual to call God Father. Very likely, with the exception of a few *obiter dicta*, you could piece out the Sermon on the Mount from the Old Testament; certainly Plato has a remarkable anticipation of the Cross. Why should we force the battle of parallel columns on the pedantic minority who depreciate Jesus and put them to

the labour of wearisome quotation from the sacred books of the East. Granted, we cry at once, that this saying and the other can be duplicated; for even stout hearts are now beginning to fail at a hint of S'âkyamuni. We abandon the plain before the heavy artillery lumbers up, without any sense of loss. Originality is not an addition to knowledge; it is only a new arrangement of colour.

Originality in literature is called discovery in science, and the lonely supremacy of Jesus rests not on what He said but on what He did. Jesus is absolute Master in the sphere of religion, which is a science dealing not with intellectual conceptions but with spiritual facts. His ideas are not words, they are laws; they are not thoughts, they are forces. He did not suggest, He asserted what He had seen at first sight. He did not propose, He commanded as one who knew there was no other way. One of His chief discoveries was a new type of character, His greatest achievement its creation. It is now nineteen centuries since He lived on earth, but to-day in every country of the western world there are men differing from their neighbours, as Jesus did from His contemporaries. Jesus was a type by Himself, and they are of the same type. One of course does not mean that the type can be recognised in every Christian or that it can be seen complete in any, but that if you take a sufficient number of Jesus' disciples you will discover in their habits of thinking and acting a certain trend of character, which was not known before Jesus came and apart from His Spirit could not now exist, which also would die out in three generations, were His Spirit withdrawn. He presented to the world a solitary ideal and in innumerable lives has made it real.

When Jesus began to be a force in human life, there were four existent types on which men formed themselves and which are still in evidence. One is the moral, and has the

Jew for its supreme illustration, with his faith in the eternal, and his devotion to the law of righteousness. The next is the intellectual, and was seen to perfection in the Greek, whose restless curiosity searched out the reason of things and whose æsthetic taste identified beauty and divinity. The third is the political, and stood enthroned at Rome, where a nation was born in the purple and dictated order to the world. And the last is the commercial, and had its forerunner in the Phœnician, who was the first to teach the power of enterprise and the fascination of wealth. Any other man born at the beginning of the first century could be dropped into his class, but Jesus defied classification. As He moved among the synagogues of Galilee, He was an endless perplexity. One could never anticipate Him. One was in despair to explain Him. Whence is He? the people whispered with a vague sense of the problem, for He marked the introduction of a new form of life. He was not referable to type: He was the beginning of a time.

Jesus did not repeat the rôle of Moses. He did not forbid His disciples to steal or tell lies; it would have been a waste of His power to teach the alphabet of morals. He takes morality for granted, and carves what Moses has hewn. His great discourse moves not in the sphere of duty but in the atmosphere of love. "It hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour. . . . I say unto you, Love your enemies." His disciples' righteousness must "exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees." They must not only do as much as, but "more than others" (St. Matt. v. 43, 44, 20, 47). The legal measure is morality, and the overflow Christianity. Jesus stands above Judaism, and He is as alien to Hellenism. Writers without any sense of proportion have tried to graft Greek culture on St. Paul because he was born at Tarsus, and quoted once or twice from Greek poets, but no one has suggested

that Jesus owed anything to letters. He wrote no book ; He formed no system ; His words were jets of truth, and chose their own forms. The Empire was not within the consciousness of Jesus : His only point of contact with Rome was the Cross. When His following wished to make Him a King, He shuddered and fled as from an insult. As for wealth, it seemed so dangerous that He laid poverty as a condition on His disciples, and Himself knew not where to lay His head. You cannot trace Jesus : you cannot analyse Jesus. His intense spirituality of soul, His simplicity of thought, His continual self-abnegation and His unaffected humility descended on a worn-out, hopeless world, like dew upon the dry grass.

The Sermon on the Mount has been until lately very much skied by theologians, but it remains the manifesto of Jesus' religion, and carries in spirit His own irresistible charm—the freshness of a new revelation. “Blessed,” said Jesus, opening His mouth with intention, and no one could have guessed what would follow. The world had its own idea of blessedness. Blessed is the man who is always right. Blessed is the man who is satisfied with himself. Blessed is the man who is strong. Blessed is the man who rules. Blessed is the man who is rich. Blessed is the man who is popular. Blessed is the man who enjoys life. These are the beatitudes of sight and this present world. It comes with a shock and opens a new realm of thought, that not one of these men entered Jesus' mind when He treated of blessedness. “Blessed,” said Jesus, “is the man who thinks lowly of himself ; who has passed through great trials ; who gives in and endures ; who longs for perfection ; who carries a tender heart ; who has a passion for holiness ; who sweetens human life ; who dares to be true to conscience.” What a conception of character ! Blessed are the humble, the penitents, the victims, the mystics, the philanthropists, the saints, the mediators, the confessors.

For the first time a halo rests on gentleness, patience, kindness, and sanctity, and the eight men of the beatitudes divide the kingdom of God.

Jesus afterwards focussed the new type of character in a lovely illustration which is not always appreciated at its full value, because we deny it perspective. Every reader of the Gospels has marked the sympathy of Jesus with children. How He watched their games. How angry He was with His disciples for belittling them. How He used to warn men, whatever they did, never to hurt a little child. How grateful were children's praises when all others had turned against Him. One is apt to admire the beautiful sentiment, and to forget that children were more to Jesus than helpless and gentle creatures to be loved and protected. They were His chief parable of the kingdom of heaven. As a type of character the kingdom was like unto a little child, and the greatest in the kingdom would be the most child-like. According to Jesus, a well-conditioned child illustrates better than anything else on earth the distinctive features of Christian character. Because he does not assert nor aggrandise himself. Because he has no memory for injuries, and no room in his heart for a grudge. Because he has no previous opinions, and is not ashamed to confess his ignorance. Because he can imagine, and has the key of another world, entering in through the ivory gate and living amid the things unseen and eternal. The new society of Jesus was a magnificent imagination, and he who entered it must lay aside the world standards and ideals of character, and become as a little child.

Jesus was an absolute and unreserved believer in character, and was never weary of insisting that a man's soul was more than his environment, and that he must be judged not by what he held and had, but by what he was and did. Nothing could be easier than to say, "Lord, Lord," but that did not count. Jesus' demand was to do the "will of

My Father which is in heaven " (St. Matt. vii. 21), and all of this kind made one family (St. Matt. xii. 50). He only has founded a kingdom on the basis of character; He only has dared to believe that character will be omnipotent. No weapon in Jesus' view would be so winsome, so irresistible as the beatitudes in action. His disciples were to use no kind of force, neither tradition, nor miracles, nor the sword, nor money. They were to live as He lived, and influence would conquer the world. Jesus elected twelve men—one was a failure—and trained them till they thought with Him, and saw with Him. St. John did not imitate Jesus, he assimilated Jesus. Each disciple became a centre himself, and so the kingdom grows by multiplying and widening circles of influence. The aggression of Jesus is the propagation of character. "Ye are the salt of the earth," "Ye are the light of the world" (St. Matt. v. 13, 14). The victory of Jesus is to be the victory of character. "In the regeneration (Utopia) when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, ye also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (St. Matt. xix. 28).

When Jesus grounds His religion on character He gives a radiant proof of His sanity and wins at once the suffrages of reasonable men. There is nothing on which we differ so hopelessly as creed, nothing on which we agree so utterly as character. Impanel twelve men of clean conscience and average intelligence and ask them to try some person by his opinions, and they may as well be discharged at once. They will not agree till the Greek Kalends. Ask them to take the standard of conduct, and they will bring in a verdict in five minutes. They have agreed in anticipation. Just as he approximates to the beatitudes they will pronounce the man good; just as he diverges will they declare him less than good. Were any one to insinuate a reference to his opinions, it would be instantly dismissed as an irrelevance, and worse, an immorality, an attempt to confuse

the issues of justice. According to the consistent teaching of Jesus a Christian is one of the same likeness as Himself, and nothing will more certainly debauch the religious sense than any shifting of labels, so that one who keeps Jesus' commandments is denied His name, and one in whom there is no resemblance to Jesus receives it on grounds of incorrect or correct thinking. One cannot imagine our Master requiring the world to accept a disciple on the ground of the man's declaration of faith; He would offer to the world the test of the man's life. When one puts in his faith as evidence he is giving a cheque on a bank beyond reach; when he puts in His character he pays in gold. The reasonableness of Jesus carries everything before it. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit." "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them" (St. Matt. vii. 16-20).

With His appreciation of character Jesus affords us a ground of certitude which can be found nowhere else in religion. This is where Christian ethics have an enormous advantage over Christian theology. One generation may build up a doctrine with the most conscientious labour, but it has no guarantee that the next—equally earnest and intelligent—may not reverse it, laying the emphasis on other texts, or influenced by some other spirit. There can be no finality in theology: this is one of its glories. Therefore it must ever be an uncertain ground of judgment: this is one of its disabilities. One century a Christian is burned because he does not believe in the Mass, and in the next another is executed because he does. It were patent injustice to bind up salvation with a fluctuating science: condemnation might then hinge on the date of a man's birth, not the attitude of his soul. There are only two departments in which the human mind can arrive at certainty: one is pure mathematics, and the other is pure

ethics. The whole must be greater than its part, not only in this world but in every other where the same rational order prevails, and there can be no place within the moral order where the man of the beatitudes will not be judged perfect. At no time and in no circumstances can he be condemned or depreciated. Yesterday, to-day and for ever he is the bright excellency of manhood. Again, without effort and without argument, Jesus carries conviction to reason and conscience. "Whosoever heareth these sayings of Mine, and doeth them, I will liken him unto a wise man, which built his house upon a rock" (St. Matt. vii. 24).

It would, however, be a shallow inference that the premium Jesus set on character meant a discount on faith, or that Jesus has originated that exasperating contrast between creed and life. If Jesus, magnifying character, said in one discourse, "Be ye therefore perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (St. Matt. v. 48), He made it plain in another how character is formed, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you" (St. John vi. 53). He insisted on being and also on believing, and in His mind they fell into order. Faith in Him was the process, and character was the product, and Jesus with His supreme reasonableness taught that the finished product and not the varying process should be the material of judgment. It is vain to expatiate on the ingenuity of the machinery if the sample of corn be badly milled; and if it be well done the criticism on the machinery may be spared. If any one is so fortunate as to hold in his heart and in its fulness the Catholic faith concerning Jesus, his richly developed character will be the unanswerable vindication of his creed. If one, less fortunate, should miss that full vision of Jesus, which is the inheritance of the saints, then it will be the less necessary to criticise his creed, since a frost-bitten and poverty-stricken character will be its swift condemnation.

"He that abideth in Me and I in him, the same bringeth forth much fruit" (St. John xv. 5) is Jesus' reconciliation of creed and character.

One cannot yield to the force of Jesus' teaching on character without facing its last application and asking, Will the final Assize be held on faith or character? As a matter of fact, the best public mind under all religions has judged by character, and has done so with a keen sense of justice and a conviction of paramount authority. When the individual has to form an estimate of his neighbour in critical circumstances he ignores his opinions and weighs his virtues. No one, for instance, would leave his wife and children to a trustee because he happened to be a Trinitarian, but only because his friend was a true man before God. It is a working principle of life that judgment goes by character, and if in the end it should go by faith it might be in keeping with some higher justice we know not here; but it would cover our moral sense with confusion and add another to the unintentional wrongs men have endured, in this world, at their fellows' hands. It were useless to argue about a matter of which we know nothing, and where speculation is vain. We must simply accept the words of Jesus, and it is an unspeakable relief to find our Master crowning His teaching on character with the scene of the Last Judgment. The prophecy of conscience will not be put to shame, nor the continuity of this life be broken. When the parabolic form is reduced and the accidental details laid aside, it remains that the Book of Judgment is the Sermon on the Mount, and that each soul is tried by its likeness to the Judge Himself. Jesus has prepared the world for a startling surprise, but it will not be the contradiction of our present moral experience: it will be the revelation of our present hidden character.

JOHN WATSON.

A REPLY TO MR. CHASE.

AN apology is due to the editor and readers of the EXPOSITOR for postponing my concluding article on *Christianity in the Roman Empire during the First Century*, and diverging into a different subject. But I have found it impossible to write my conclusion to the former subject at the present time, because college lectures (which seem to weigh more heavily on me, and to need more of my time, each new winter) and other duties have recently left me no leisure. I think however that the character of Mr. Chase's article in the EXPOSITOR for December leaves me no alternative except to reply to it at once. Had he stated arguments of a real character, founded on the historical or geographical or antiquarian circumstances implied in the narrative of *Acts*, which led him to question the correctness of what I may continue to style the South-Galatian theory, I should have used the excuse that a fair time might justifiably be left for all persons concerned to think over his arguments before I proceeded to discuss them. But, when he in a spirit of such unhesitating confidence and perfect assurance declares that Bishop Lightfoot and I have attributed to the Greek of a fundamental passage in *Acts* a meaning which it cannot possibly bear, and that the simple, necessary, and "luminously clear" construction of that passage absolutely and inexorably precludes the South-Galatian theory, I feel bound to reply. There is no other course open; if Mr. Chase is right, Part I. of my book is hopelessly wrong, and it would be a fraud on the public to permit the continuance of its sale. But as I think that he has fallen into a series of mistakes which vitiate his whole argument, and that he merely helps to strengthen my position, it is a duty to Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton (who have spared nothing to give the book a fair chance of appearing before the readers in the most correct and complete form), as well

as to many readers who have credited me with some knowledge of my subject and of the Greek language, to point out what are the facts of the case.

Mr. Chase's criticism is directed mainly on two points; and I shall attempt to prove that it is founded on two errors: the first a deliberate and conscious one, viz., the mistaking an adjective for a noun, and the second an unintentional and unconscious one, viz., the mistaking of a transitional for an expectant particle; and that it is supported by a series of inaccurate and sometimes grossly erroneous reasons.

My reply is necessarily conditioned by Mr. Chase's attack; it must be a battle of words, for such is the ground which he has chosen. There is a great deal more to be said, much to put more clearly and precisely, and further arguments to advance, in addition to what has been set forth in the opening chapters of my book. I have for months been waiting for leisure to say what has to be said; and I hoped, when I first heard of Mr. Chase's coming article, that he would give me a good opportunity for saying it. But he has chosen his ground on verbal disputation, and I must therefore continue this barren logomachy. It is however perhaps not wholly barren, if I succeed in demonstrating, in one more case, Bishop Lightfoot's singular grasp and mastery of the Greek of this period. His mind is never dominated by traditional interpretations. The Greek speaks direct to him; it does not suggest to him corresponding English words, but rouses in his mind the thoughts which it seeks to convey. This is a rare quality even among great scholars; and among all the innumerable commentators on Greek, whether classical or post-classical, whom I have worked through, I could easily number on my fingers without coming back a second time to the same finger, those of whom the same can be said. It has been my good fortune, by no merit of my own, to have justified more than once in

a conclusive manner his intuition in Christian Greek. Now I hope to prove that the sense of *Acts* xvi. 6, which he caught at once and maintained throughout his career,¹ is the right one; though the obscurity that enveloped Asia Minor prevented him from realizing the full geographical import of the words.³

First however let me say that the tone and manner of Mr. Chase's article are, so far as I am concerned, excellent. He has performed what he considered a public duty, though one necessarily painful to myself, with perfect courtesy; he has stated his conclusions as to my work even more mildly³ than I deserve, *if he is correct*; and he has even gone out of his way to compliment me on the discoveries that came in my way as an explorer, though he feels compelled to point out that, as a scholar, I have failed to understand their bearing on the literature of the subject. In return I can say that I never took up the pen so unwillingly as I do now. As I ran over his article I saw that, if I replied, I should be forced to say some very severe things; and I tried by all means I could think of to settle the case out of court, and to give my critic the opportunity of himself revising his statements. But it has been decided, no doubt rightly, that open discussion is best. Mr. Chase assures me that he has fully considered his position, and that I ought, if I think he has made any errors, to expose them ruthlessly.⁴

¹ It stands in edition x. of his *Galatians*, and in his *Colossians*, p. 23.

² An exact parallel may be quoted. In the corrupt and barely intelligible epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, embedded in a late hagiographer, he rightly caught the ring of genuine second-century expression; he attempted to explain away the difficulties which had seemed to almost every previous scholar to disprove the genuineness of the epitaph; but in this attempt his unavoidable ignorance of certain geographical facts made him for the moment unsuccessful.

³ Except in one case, pointed out at a later stage.

⁴ I am glad to see from the Calendar that Mr. Chase took his degree in the same year that I finished my undergraduate course; hence I owe him neither the respect due to a senior, nor the allowance due to a junior, but merely the courtesy of equals.

I may also express my belief that his errors are due, not to neglect (I quote his own words) of "common Greek usage and the ordinary rules of Greek grammar," but to his being prepossessed by an interpretation which has become familiar, habitual, and stereotyped in his mind, making his vision dulled to facts which he would doubtless have observed at the first glance, if the piece of Greek could have been presented to him fresh and unfamiliar.

I hope to bring out that several of his lines of argument, when properly worked out, result in confirmations of the South-Galatian theory, for which I shall always be his debtor. In fact, the impression made on me is that, whenever any point in the history of the time is worked out thoroughly, it results in a confirmation of that theory.

One result will, I know, please him as much as myself, if I establish it: I hope to bring out two new¹ proofs that the author of *Acts* must have been living in the first half of the first century, and must have been an eye-witness of some of the events that he records. The more closely *Acts* is scrutinized, the more clearly do the unity and the first-hand character of the narrative stand out; and I have felt justified in putting this more emphatically in the third edition of my work (the corrections for which are now finished for press) than I did in the previous editions.

I. Mr. Chase insists in the most emphatic terms that the subjects in regard to which he differs from me are absolutely clear and simple. He will not even allow me to say that there is any difficulty in them. While it was, I think, made fairly plain in my discussion that I myself entertained no doubt, I at least paid the scholars who held a different opinion what seemed to me a deserved mark of respect by putting prominently the admission that the subject was "one of extreme obscurity." But Mr. Chase

¹ They are at least new to me, and are unnoticed in the commentators whom I have seen.

"cannot for a moment admit that the passage is one of extreme obscurity," "On the contrary," says he, "when interpreted according to common Greek usage and the ordinary rules of Greek grammar, it appears to me luminously clear." Of another passage, which involves a complex geographical question, he remarks that "what information St. Luke does give, he gives with absolute clearness." I need quote no further examples, but the general impression left on a reader is that Mr. Chase is in a state of wonder as to how Lightfoot and I could be so bad scholars as to mistake the meaning of a sentence which is so plain.

But Mr. Chase mistakes radically my meaning when I used the term "obscure." The passages referred to seem to me obscure, not on account of any ambiguity or uncertainty in the author's language, but on account of the scantiness of our knowledge. I thought that, if there was anything made plain in my book, it was my belief that the author of *Acts* is an authority of the first rank, giving us the clear and direct description of an eye-witness. I believed that I was defending him from attacks, whose strength lay solely in our ignorance. Yet Mr. Chase accuses me of making "complaint against St. Luke." I have often put my opinions in a tentative way, simply to avoid the appearance of dogmatism and over-confidence; but this humility is not a thing that Mr. Chase understands.

Mr. Chase's own article will, I believe, be generally considered as in itself a sufficient proof that I was right in characterizing the subjects as difficult. I think he has not gone deep enough to see the difficulty; and that if he had done so, his criticism would have been couched in very different terms.

II. Dividing Mr. Chase's attack into separate heads, I find that the first and the most serious one is that the interpretation which I have given (following Bishop Lightfoot),

of the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν is impossible "according to the ordinary rules of Greek grammar," and "is shipwrecked on the rock of Greek grammar." I have therefore first to show that it is philologically possible, and that it is consistent with Greek grammar. I may assume that Φρυγίαν and Γαλατικὴν are admitted by Mr. Chase to be correctly formed accusatives feminine of the widely used adjectives Φρύγιος and Γαλατικός. It is also a generally recognised phenomenon in Greek and all other languages that the name of a thing, *i.e.* a noun in the singular, may have two adjectives applied to it; and that in Greek, when two adjectives are applied to a singular noun, they are quite correctly coupled by καὶ, and that the article is used only with the first of them. Mr. Chase will not argue that the phrase "the good and noble boy," ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐγενὴς παῖς, must denote "the good boy and the noble boy," *i.e.* two separate individuals. Even if I could admit that that rendering were a possible one, Mr. Chase will not maintain that the other is an impossible one. It is, "according to common Greek usage and the ordinary principles of Greek grammar," possible that the one phrase should be rendered "the boy to whom the epithets, good and noble, apply," and that the other phrase should be rendered "the country to which the epithets, Phrygian and Galatic, apply." The South-Galatian theory is therefore not "shipwrecked on the rock of grammar": it may be right or wrong, as other reasons must determine, but in this fundamental passage it gives a rendering that is grammatically possible.

For the moment I content myself with this; but at a future stage I shall bring forward arguments and parallels to show that Φρυγίαν in this phrase *must* be taken as an adjective. Meanwhile I shall merely state the opinion that any one to whom Greek is a living language and not a congeries of foreign words, feels intuitively and immediately

that in τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, Φρυγίαν must be, as Lightfoot said, an adjective;¹ and I appeal with perfect confidence to the verdict of Greek scholars. I go on to discuss the parallels advanced by Mr. Chase for his view.

III. When Mr. Chase condemns so confidently Lightfoot's unhesitating translation, he has never discovered what is the point that the Bishop had in mind. In quoting parallel passages, he confuses two distinct and separate points. One point is the sense of two nouns connected by καὶ and having a common article; the other is the sense of a singular noun which has in agreement with it two adjectives connected by καὶ and having a common article. These are two totally different phenomena, each having its peculiar grammatical character. I take an example in English: the question as to the grammatical distinction between "the French and the English" and "the French and English," is totally different from the question as to the distinction between "the French and English Army" and "the French and the English army." Mr. Chase makes many correct and excellent observations as to the former distinction; but these remarks have no bearing on the latter class, and the point on which Lightfoot and myself insist belongs to the latter class. I do not assert that "the French and English" must mean "those who are both French and English," but I do assert that, if a writer is grammatically accurate, we may interpret in him the phrase "the French and English army" as being equivalent to "the Anglo-French army," viz., an allied army, which each nation may justifiably claim, "the army which is both French and English."

For the moment, then, we set aside all Mr. Chase's parallels on pages 405-6, except two, τῶν Ἐπικουρίων καὶ Στωικῶν φιλοσόφων and τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίδος

¹ Weiss in his newly published edition sees that Φρυγίαν must be an adjective.

χώρας. He asks sarcastically, "does St. Luke mean us to understand philosophers who could be 'called indifferently' Epicureans or Stoics?" I marvel that Mr. Chase fails to see that the plural noun makes all the difference. To take our simple instance, we have seen what must be the sense of "the French and English army"; but it is a totally different thing to say "the French and English armies." Those words may with perfect grammatical propriety be used to designate two separate armies, one French and the other English. But let Mr. Chase bring forward an instance of τοῦ Ἐπικουρίου καὶ Στωικοῦ φιλοσόφου, and I will maintain that the writer either had a sarcastic sense (as we might speak of a philosopher who unites the most opposite systems), or he wrote bad grammar and bad Greek. Mr. Chase's second example deserves, as he says, to be "reserved for special consideration"; but, before touching it, we must note that his contention is that, in the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, Φρυγίαν is a noun, not an adjective. It must also be pointed out that one of the difficulties in these words is that few cases can occur in which a country bears two distinct and apparently inconsistent geographical epithets. Accordingly the rendering which Lightfoot gives strikes a reader who has not plunged much into ancient geography as unusual. On the spur of the moment I could not have given a parallel passage, and should have required to ask the reader to believe that I was quite familiar with a small number of similar passages (though I could not at the moment quote one), and that Lightfoot's confidence about the interpretation proves that he also was familiar with parallels.¹ But here, fortunately, Mr. Chase comes to my aid and supplies me with a parallel passage from the same author, viz. *Luke* iii. 1; and, with

¹ Why then did Lightfoot not quote them? Simply because he did not think it necessary to prove that such a phrase as ὁ ἀγαθὸς καὶ εὐγενὴς παῖς can and must mean "the boy to whom the epithets good and noble both apply."

sublime unconsciousness of the meaning, he quotes it as a proof that Lightfoot is wrong.¹

IV. With regard to the statement in *Luke* iii. 1, that Philip was tetrarch τῆς Ἰτουρæας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας, Mr. Chase says, without the slightest hesitation, "Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis were separate districts"; and he declares that this "exact and important parallel" "makes it almost certain that in xvi. 6, Φρυνγίαν is a substantive, not an adjective." I might have been unable to detect his error on this point, and should perhaps have yielded to his superior knowledge on a point which belongs peculiarly to his department as a Syriac scholar (whereas it lies far away from my sphere of knowledge), had it not been for the fortunate chance that I undertook to direct two of my pupils recently in editing a collection of inscriptions from the Hauran for the Palestine Exploration Fund; and thus I had occasion to look into the geography of the Peræa. In doing so I learned at least that it is a very obscure subject, in which many statements are glibly made in modern geographical treatises, which are quite unproven, and, I venture to think, hardly susceptible of proof. Mr. Chase no doubt finds this subject, like the topography of Galatia, "luminously clear"; but here again he has merely failed to go deep enough to discover what the difficulties are. His reasoning suggests that he has done little more than look into the modern maps, which print ITURÆA in bold type in one place, and TRACHONITIS in similarly bold type in another: this does indeed make the subject "luminously clear"; but is it correct? Mr. Chase forgot to put that brief question before he condemned Lightfoot and me.

¹ Mr. Chase, I presume, had read and considered Bishop Lightfoot's arguments before condemning him so confidently. If so, he ought to have warned his readers that Lightfoot quotes *Luke* iii. 1 in his own favour, and thus have suggested to them that two views on the subject were held. His reticence would seem, unintentionally of course, to suggest that he had discovered an unnoticed and conclusive parallel.

(1) He assumes that *Ἰτουπαίας* must be a substantive in *Luke* iii. 1. On what authority does he found this assumption? The word has all the appearance of being an adjective, like *Ἀθηναῖος* and a host of others. Only prepossession by an idea would permit a scholar to assert that it is a substantive in *Luke* iii. 1. Its usage in the ancients is predominantly adjectival. We find often the people *οἱ Ἰτουπαῖοι* (like *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*); but where does Mr. Chase find *Ἰτουπαία* the country except in modern maps, in a fourth century author (I concede this case, which is not entirely certain), and in his own misunderstanding of *Luke* iii. 1?

It is true that even the Indexes to ancient authors, like the modern books, often quote in loose terms references to *Ituræa*, but on consultation we usually find that the original text knows no country *Ituræa*, but uses the adjectival form: thus Josephus,¹ Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Dion Cassius,² even Cicero and Virgil and Lucan, know only the people, not the land. De Vit, in his *Onomasticon*, gives two separate headings, *Ituræa* and *Ituræi*; but those references which I can look up at the moment mention only the people, not the land. Stephanus's Greek lexicon knows *Ἰτουπαῖοι*, but not *Ituræa*. Appian mentions in a list of countries *Παλαιστίνην καὶ τὴν Ἰτουπαίων*³ (*Civ.*, v. 7; compare *Mithridat.*, 106). The oldest example of *Ituræa* as the country that I can find is in Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, 19, a fourth century writer.³ If St. Luke meant *Ἰτουπαίας* as a noun, he was ignorant of contemporary and proper usage, and inaccurate in his geographical nomenclature (in addition to what I maintain to be a grammatical fault).

By making *Ἰτουπαίας* a noun, then, Mr. Chase separates Luke from the early authors, and classes him among

¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xiii. 11, 3 (twice). Forbiger, in his *Alte Geographie*, p. 691, also refers to xiii. 9, but Idumæans not Ituræans are mentioned there in Naber's text.

² Compare Dion, *Ἀραβίας καὶ τὴν Ἰτουπαίων*.

³ Examples in Hieronymus are discussed in the following paragraph.

the inaccurate and late writers. The same is the case in general. The South-Galatian theory places *Acts* in harmony with first-century language, usage, and circumstances; but Mr. Chase is resolved to force into *Acts* all the inconsistencies and awkwardness which long obliged me to confess that the higher criticism was right in recognising it as a second-hand and second-century document. On the other hand, if the South-Galatian theory is right, *Acts* must be a first-century document, for it implies a state of Asia Minor which had ceased to exist before the date at which many of the advanced critics have placed the composition of that book.

(2) If Mr. Chase will seek for himself to define from the original authorities the situation of the Ituræan country, and to distinguish it from the country called Trachon or Trachonitis, I think he will allow that it is very hard to maintain his confident statement that "Ituræa and the region of Trachonitis were separate districts"; and he may even grant that there is after all something to be said for my own conclusion that St. Luke observes the correct contemporary usage of *Ἰτουραίας* as an adjective. Some slight indication of the evidence in our favour (which was, I have no doubt, all in Lightfoot's mind when he stated so emphatically the view that Mr. Chase controverts so lightly) may be usefully added. Josephus defines more accurately the sovereignty of Philip (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 11, 4; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 6, 3); he does not name Ituræa as forming part of it, and my (I might almost say our) position is that Josephus does not name it because it was undistinguishable from Trachonitis. Again, Jerome seems to have taken our view of *Luke* iii. 1, for he says (as I learn from De Vit) *Trachonitis regio sive Ituræa*; and again, *Ituræa et Trachonitis regio*,¹

¹ Strabo's account seems to me to point to the same conclusion; but I cannot and need not go further into this point. Ituræa in the two passages of Hieronymus I take unhesitatingly as an adjective. Hieronymus understood

cujus tetrarcha fuit Philippus (Onom., pp. 355 and 243 Parth.).

Further, if we compare the modern authorities with each other, we find that, while De Vit puts Ituræa south of Trachonitis (so also E. B. James in *Smith's Dictionary*), Kiepert puts it east, and the Palestine Exploration Fund Map puts it north-west, and old Forbiger remarks that Ituræa is, "strictly speaking, only the southern part of Trachonitis" (p. 691).

The conclusion is inevitable that, on this point, which lies peculiarly within the sphere of his studies alike as a Semitic and a Biblical scholar, Mr. Chase has not looked with his own eyes into the facts, but, relying entirely on second-hand knowledge, condemns in the most confident way his own master, not to mention also a brother student.

The excellent writer whom we are studying had the instinctive sense of a real historian for situations in which minute and almost pragmatistical distinctness is suitable. In defining an important date he speaks of the time when Philip was tetrarch of the region to which the epithets Trachonitic (derived from its physical conformation) and Ituræan (derived from its inhabitants) both apply; and in describing a delicate and difficult point in the history of the diffusion of Christianity towards the west, he resolved to leave no doubt in the mind of his readers as to the precise district which he meant, and says, "the region to which the epithets Phrygian and Galatic both apply." To understand him we have simply to find out what was the contemporary usage of these terms; and that I have tried to do. I ven-

take correctly. But, if Mr. Chase insists on reading Ituræa here as the country, he does not get any earlier company for St. Luke, but merely confirms my assertion that Ituræa is a late noun, originating after the people and the correct usage had been forgotten. In Hieronymus's *Comment. in Matt. ad init.* the expression *tetrarcha Iturææ et Trachonitidis regionum* occurs in old texts; but the Migne edition says that all MSS. read *regionis*, i.e. the Ituræan and Trachonitic region.

ture still to call the subject a difficult one, in spite of Mr. Chase's assertion that it is "luminously clear."¹

V. I pass next to Mr. Chase's discussion of a complete episode in the narrative, Acts xvi. 1-6. He says (I shorten his exposition, but hope that I represent him quite accurately) that vv. 1-4 describe St. Paul's visit to Derbe and Lystra, with the other chief cities of the district (*τὰς πόλεις*, v. 4). "He next records the sequel, which he introduces by the particle *οὖν*." "This sequel has two parts, which St. Luke clearly marks off by the use of *μέν*, v. 5, and *δέ*, v. 6. In the first place, St. Luke traces the fortunes of the Churches which St. Paul and his companions had just visited (*αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι*)." "In the second place, St. Luke follows the movements of the travellers (*διήλθον δέ*)." "Thus the sequence of the clauses (*μέν οὖν—δέ*)" is "fatal to Prof. Ramsay's theory," etc.

In a note Mr. Chase remarks naively, "the connexion of vv. 5, 6 is unfortunately obscured by the division into paragraphs, both in Westcott and Hort's edition and in the Revised Version. Mr. Chase, of course, does not imagine that the division into paragraphs in these two works is accidental. It is the result of careful and prolonged consideration by the authors; and it would be difficult to imagine a stronger combination of opinion than is represented by the union of Bishop Westcott, Dr. Hort, and the Revisers. Few scholars now living would care to dispute their combined opinion on a point of the kind (strengthened, too, by the *consensus* of almost all the great foreign scholars whom I have looked into² on the passage); and I should

¹ I shall return again to this point: but at present I go on to Mr. Chase's second point, in order to suggest in the first issue of the *Expositor* my line of reply.

² Many of them consider the want of connexion between v. 5 and v. 6 so glaring that they attribute them to different authors. Weiss, however, in his recent edition, in Harnack's *Studien*, vol. ix., perhaps, as we shall see below, agrees with Mr. Chase.

not have believed that any scholar who had no new evidence to bring forward would have the courage to lightly dismiss their opinion in a footnote with the flippant remark that they obscure the connexion, and to print his own opinion boldly in the text as indubitable, had not Mr. Chase done so.

What then are his reasons for holding that 5, 6 are wrongly apportioned by these scholars to two different paragraphs, and are really two halves of a balanced sentence? His sole reason is that the first begins with *αἱ μὲν οὖν*, and the second with *διήλθον δέ*. He has apparently forgot entirely the existence of the double particle *μὲν οὖν*, in which the *μὲν* has no relation whatever to a following *δέ*, but coheres and is merged in the unified compound *ἐν μούν*. This compound particle is of wide use in all periods of Greek, from early Attic to the date when St. Luke was writing; it is explained in numerous excellent manuals and in the ordinary lexicons. There are, it is true, also cases in which *μὲν οὖν* represents two separate particles, *μὲν* corresponding to a following *δέ*, and *οὖν* being a distinct particle. But the present, like every other case where *μὲν οὖν* occurs, must be examined to determine whether *μὲν* seems to balance the following *δέ*. Mr. Chase has not made a very careful examination; otherwise he must have seen that the arrangement of words (*αἱ μὲν ἐκκλησίαι—διήλθον δὲ [οἱ περὶ Παῦλον]*) does not suggest a balance between the two sentences. Neither the thought¹ nor the verbal form justify his assertion that *μὲν* in v. 5 must correspond to *δὲ* in v. 6; and I feel confident both that every qualified arbiter will pronounce in favour of Westcott, Hort, the Revisers, etc., and that Mr. Chase himself, when he reflects over the matter in the course of years, will abandon his present opinion.

It will aid in making the matter clear, if we glance for a

¹ Mr. Chase's laboured attempt to bring out an antithesis between the churches and the travellers appears to me the lamest and poorest exegetic discussion that I have ever seen: and to found on this artificial interpretation a condemnation of Westcott and Hort is not likely to add to his reputation.

moment at the formidable (in appearance) array of parallel instances from other parts of Acts by which Mr. Chase supports his view as to the *μὲν* in xvi. 5. He finds in ix. 31, 32, a passage which he reckons so strong in his favour that he quotes its terms alone among his fifteen parallels (31. *ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία*; 32. *ἐγένετο δὲ Πέτρον*). Here the verbal form is as far as possible from suggesting a correspondence between *μὲν* and *δὲ*; and Mr. Chase takes no notice of the fact that his former opponents, Westcott and Hort, and both the Authorised and Revised Versions,¹ are once more opposed to him. They take v. 31 as a brief summing up of the issue of the events in the preceding paragraph, and v. 32 as the opening of a new section of the narrative, quite out of connexion with the preceding verses. Westcott and Hort make a division of their broadest species between v. 31 and v. 32; but here again Mr. Chase would, no doubt, say that "the connexion is unfortunately obscured by the division into paragraphs."

There are some cases of *μὲν οὖν* which are more in Mr. Chase's favour, and to which he would have more wisely attached the prominence which he assigns to ix. 31. I do not possess that minute familiarity with the style of *Acts* and the Third Gospel, which would justify me in expressing an opinion offhand whether or not the *μὲν* and the *οὖν* are to be treated as two separate particles in viii. 4, 5, where the verbal order is not opposed to Mr. Chase's view. But I observe that in viii. 25, 26, where also the verbal order can be quoted on Mr. Chase's side, Westcott and Hort and the Revised Version are once more ranged against him. In several other of his examples, word and thought and "the division into paragraphs, both in Westcott and Hort's text and in the Revised Version," all combine to obscure the connexion which he finds.

¹ Weiss on this passage takes the same view as Mr. Chase, and on the same ground; he also has forgotten the existence of that very common particle *μὲν οὖν*

Here again we see that Mr. Chase's courage and confidence are wasted on a bad cause. His argument against me is opposed to grammar, to the sequence of thought, and to the almost unanimous opinion of other scholars; whereas the South-Galatian theory accepts the generally recognised view of the passage, merely interpreting it with more close attention to the facts of geography.

Mr. Chase is quite right to be on his guard against the serious error of being a slave to authority; questions of interpretation ought to be settled, not by appeal to authority, but by argument. But, against a weighty consensus of authorities, one should weigh one's arguments long and carefully.¹ It would, for ordinary people, be a serious consideration, if he succeeds in demolishing with a touch of his finger the general view on so simple a point as this. Whose opinion can we trust, if the scholars whom we have been accustomed to regard as supreme have been unable to avoid the blunder of ending a paragraph in the middle of a balanced sentence? I trust however to have shown that the authorities are right, and that Mr. Chase has forgotten his particles.

VI. As to the ridicule that Mr. Chase casts on my statement that in *Acts* xvi. 6, 7, the succession of verbs is varied by making some of them participles, I repeat the statement, which I can only suppose that Mr. Chase has not rightly understood.² To take a simple example in English: one may say, "Cæsar attacked the Gauls and defeated them," or one may "vary the succession of verbs by making one a participle," and say, "Cæsar attacked the Gauls, defeating

¹ It would be easy to apply to this case the maxim quoted by the greatest of Cambridge Latinists, H. A. J. Munro. "Hermann warns us, when we disagree with Lachmann, to think twice, lest we, not he, be in fault."

² I am quite willing to grant to him that my expression of the fact might be improved, as is the case in regard to many facts in my book. I would gladly rewrite the paragraph, maintaining my translation in this respect, and correcting it in a point that Mr. Chase does not observe. See preface to edition iii.

them in a great battle." The two statements are not precisely identical, but they approximate very closely; and a correct writer will be guided by circumstances in selecting one or the other. The action in *κωλυθέντες* is contemporary with one stage of that in *διήλθον*, but yet subsequent to it looked at in a broad view.¹

My interpretation of the verses is that of the Authorized Version (a fact which I only recently noticed, as I used regularly the Revised Version). The Revised Version prefers to leave ambiguous a sentence which is in its grammatical form doubtful² in the Greek, but which geographically seems to me to admit no interpretation except that of the Authorised Version. I am not afraid to call the passage a difficult one, though Mr. Chase, as usual, finds nothing but a "luminous clearness" in it.

It is on this point that Mr. Chase condemns me in terms which would, I think, be unjustifiable, even if he were right. In the previous cases I was in good company, and he could not speak severely of me without including Lightfoot, Westcott, Hort, etc. But here he seems to have thought I stood alone, and his condemnation is pronounced in no light terms (p. 411). Let him content himself in controversy with exposing the errors of his antagonist: it is a mistake to sneer at his honesty and sense of duty!

Now, Mr. Chase must either have noticed that the Authorised Version agrees with me—and in that case it was hardly fair not to tell his readers that I had again good company—or he did not know it—and in that case he cannot have looked very carefully into the subject. But there is little doubt that he did not know, or had forgotten,

¹ I omit for the present the simple answer to Mr. Chase's footnote, pp. 410–11, and his whole text on p. 410. He will doubtless see it for himself. A good strong misunderstanding of an opponent's position is an excellent foundation for a controversy and a slaughter of the other party.

² A participle may stand in several relations with its verb: context and sense must decide between them.

the fact; for his condemnation of me applies also to the Authorised Version; and I believe that Mr. Chase would never consciously apply to it the unmeasured language he applies to me on p. 411.

VII. Mr. Chase, in the same paragraph, draws a marked distinction between my book as one "addressed to a popular audience," and books which are really scholarly. Can he point out any single case in which I have spared the reader a single step in the most complicated and the closest argument? One of the chapters was a lecture addressed to a small Cambridge society, drawn from the most educated class that exists in this country, including Dr. Hort and Dr. Westcott. Many others were addressed to an audience, equally learned, though perhaps disposed to be more lenient from old connexion, in Oxford, including such hearers as Dr. Sanday, Dr. Fairbairn, Professor H. F. Pelham. Are those chapters a whit more deep, or more carefully and minutely worked out, than the rest? The book addresses an educated audience, and could interest none but educated people, habituated to weighing delicate and close arguments.¹ Mr. Chase's statement that "very few readers go through Professor Ramsay's arguments with their Greek Testament in their hands," is only one out of a host of indications that he has entirely failed to gauge the problem that he solves so confidently.

I have got only a very little way into my subject. I have omitted half of the points which I have to criticise in Mr. Chase's discussion of *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, not to mention all the rest of his article. I am ready to go on in a future number with the dissection of his arguments; but I hope he will spare me the unpleasant task.² I regret

¹ So far as I recollect, I made only one concession. I spared my readers a long geographical discussion of the denotation of "Galatia Provincia," in reply to Professor E. Schürer; but that in no sense formed a part of my subject.

² I should be prepared to try to meet him in the Christmas Vacation, and to see whether we could not come to an agreement on some points, and thus

deeply to be compelled to write this article; but I think all who read his criticism will allow that I have no alternative. The arguments alluded to above in favour of the South-Galatian theory and of the accuracy and first-hand character of *Acts*, drawn from the topics which he has suggested, must also wait, though they are already written out.

Let me conclude by thanking Mr. Chase for directing my attention to several points which I had not fully grasped, and for aiding me to strengthen my case so much.

W. M. RAMSAY.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK ON RUYSBROECK.

SOME years ago the Society known as *De Maetschappij der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen* re-edited the complete works of Jan van Ruysbroeck, the fourteenth century mystic, to whom his countrymen gave the title "L' Admirable." M. Maeterlinck, using the amended Flemish text, has translated the whole of Ruysbroeck's most important book, *L'Ornement des Noces Spirituelles*, and has prefixed to the volume an introduction of a hundred pages, containing extracts from other writings of Ruysbroeck, along with a critical estimate which is in some respects his own most remarkable contribution to literature.

He begins with apologies for his author. This monk of Brabant, leading a hermit's life in the forest of Soignes during the wildest years of the fourteenth century, must not be judged by the ordinary canons of style. He is awkward, often commonplace, full of repetitions, and of seeming contradictions. He has the ignorance of a child with the wisdom of a man returned from the dead. Lost in vast conceptions, he can hardly find language to describe

save part at least of this gladiatorial logomachy, which to me is very disagreeable.

the commonest things, and is puzzled how to tell us what goes on in his little monastic garden.

"Do not expect a literary production ; you will see only the convulsive flight of an eagle, dizzy, blind and wounded, over snowy peaks." Ordinary readers are warned that to begin the study of mysticism is like entering a boundless desert of the mind, where the traveller may wander helplessly till he dies of thirst. Several times in the introduction M. Maeterlinck borrows images from the volcanic scenery of Iceland, to describe the effect produced by the study of Ruysbroeck. "We have reached the utmost boundary of human thought, far within the polar circle of the mind. It is strangely cold there, strangely dark, yet everywhere there is light and flame." Fire-sheets and ice-blocks alternate ; an aurora glitters between the white crags, or the midnight sun hangs over the sea. But the blasted rocks are round us, and we do not look for roses in Iceland. Even M. Maeterlinck, whose passion for the mystics is greater than that of any modern writer, fears at times to follow to "those lonely crossroads of the spirit." His attitude to his author might be summed up in Schiller's lines :

"Senke nieder,
Adlergedank, dein Gefieder.
Kühne Seglerin, Phantasie,
Wirf ein muthloses Ankor hie!"

"I translated this book," he tells us, "because I believe the writings of the mystics are the purest diamonds in the vast treasure of humanity. Some people will consider it merely the outpouring of a crazy monk, a hermit delirious with fasting and worn with fever. They will read it as a wild, dark dream, crossed with vivid lightning flashes. But just as it has been said that every man is a Shakespeare in his dreams, so we may well ask whether every man is not an inarticulate mystic, a thousand times more transcendental than any of those who have confined themselves within the

bonds of words. Is not the eye of the lover or the mother a thousand times more abstruse, more impenetrable, more mystical than this book—poor and easily explained in comparison?" To M. Maeterlinck the voices of the mystics are the only voices that really pierce the silence. Readers of his plays will remember how he is haunted by the idea of the stillness which surrounds each separate soul. "*L'âme humaine est très silencieuse—L'âme humaine aime à s'en aller seule.*" In the fourteenth century, especially, Christian souls kept silence. Europe was desolated by war, famine and the Black Death. The war in Brabant rolled almost to the gates of the Augustinian Priory of Grönendal, where Ruysbroeck spent his closing years. The bonds of society were loosened, and the expectation of the second Advent was no longer, as in the earlier middle ages, a sustaining force in the general body of believers. Everywhere was confusion, violence, endurance without hope. In the midst of it all Ruysbroeck set down as the motto of his book, "Behold, the Bridegroom cometh; go ye out to meet Him." As he meditated under the beech-trees of Soignes, it seemed that a divine inspiration bade him summon the scattered flock of Christ to adorn themselves for the heavenly marriage. They were poor and despised in this world, but the wedding garment was prepared for them, and the Spirit and the Bride said, Come. "I have not written one word," he told his friend and pupil, Gerhard Groot, "except by direct impulse and inspiration from the Holy Ghost, and in the strange and most sweet society of the Blessed Trinity." No one ever plunged more deeply into the contemplative life. In all his writings there is scarcely a hint to remind us that he had spent thirty years as the parish priest of the Eglise Sainte Gudule at Brussels. Even then indeed it had been noticed that he walked with an air of abstraction, and as one who had no eye for outward things. But far from being a mere visionary, he was admitted to have one of the

wisest and sanest heads of his time. Impatient of pretended miracles, he put down remorselessly the pretensions of a nun who persuaded the people that two angels accompanied her to the altar. There is not a hint that he practised the savage austerities of Suso; in his teaching he expressly declared that bodily suffering was not the truest penance. He instructed the young, lectured in the religious houses of the city, and was so absorbed in his work that when his mother came to visit him he declined the interruption of her society. He seemed in haste to accomplish his task, to lay aside the burden of other souls that he might care for his own. Once happily settled in his cell at Grönendal, no thought of the world outside distracted him. Already advanced in years, he took up his pen with the zest of youth. M. Maeterlinck hardly emphasizes sufficiently the note of youthfulness heard through his works. His fancy loved to linger on the white stone of the Revelation, the twelve jewels of the High Priest's breastplate, the costly needlework of the Tabernacle. The fantastic imagery of many passages of Ruysbroeck finds an echo in M. Maeterlinck's own religious thought. In his volume of lyrics, *Serres Chaudes*, where the influence of the pre-Raphaelites is so evident, the influence of the mystics is felt even more. What haunting memories there are in the following "Oraison":

"Vous savez, Seigneur, ma misère,
Voyez ce que je vous apporte;
Des fleurs mauvaises de la terre,
Et du soleil sur une morte.

Voyez aussi ma lassitude,
La lune éteinte et l'aube noire;
Et fécondez ma solitude
En l'arrosant de ta gloire.

Ouvrez, Seigneur, votre voie,
Eclairez-y mon âme lasse,
Car la tristesse de ma joie
Semble de l'herbe sous la glace."

And again, in these curious verses :—

“ Mon âme a peur comme une femme,
Voyez ce que j'ai fait, Seigneur,
De mes mains, les lys de mon âme,
De mes yeux, les cieux de mon cœur.

Ayez pitié de mes misères
J'ai perdu la palme et l'anneau ;
Ayez pitié de mes prières,
Faibles fleurs dans un verre d'eau.

Ayez pitié du mal des lèvres,
Ayez pitié de mes regrets ;
Semez le lys le long des fièvres
Et les roses sur les marais.”

The wisdom of the old monk is hardly less astonishing than his fancy. He knew no Greek, possibly no Latin ; he was without access to books, yet, as M. Maeterlinck reminds us, he was acquainted with all the philosophies of the world. He knew the Platonism of Greece, the Brahminism of India, and the Buddhism of Thibet. It is never safe to assume his ignorance. “ I could quote whole pages of Plato, of Plotinus, of Porphyry, of the Zendic books, of the Gnostics and the Kabbala, the all but inspired substance of which may be found, intact, in the writings of this humble Flemish priest. We find strange coincidences and disturbing agreements. We find more, for at times he seems to have secretly presupposed the work of his unknown predecessors. Just as Plotinus begins his stern journey at the cross-road where Plato, fearing, paused and knelt down, so we might say that Ruysbroeck awakened from a slumber of several centuries, not, indeed, the same kind of thought (for that kind of thought never sleeps), but the same kind of language as that which had fallen asleep on the mountains, where Plotinus forsook it, dazzled by the blaze of light and with his hands before his eyes, as if in presence of an immense conflagration.”

To the merely secular intelligence, however noble, M.

Maeterlinck admits that the writings of the Flemish mystic can offer little attraction. "The mirror of the human intellect is entirely unknown in this book, but there is another mirror, darker and more profound, which we hide in the inmost depths of our beings. No detail can be seen in it distinctly, nor can words be traced upon its surface, but something is seen there from time to time; is it the soul? is it God Himself? is it both at once? We shall never know, yet these all but invisible appearances are the only real rulers of the life of the most unbelieving among us. Here you will perceive nothing but the dark reflections on the mirror, and as its treasure is inexhaustible, these reflections will not be like anything we have experienced in ourselves, but, in spite of all, will have an amazing certainty." It is only to a few, however, that the mirror has anything to reveal. The old superstitious custom of covering the looking-glass in the room where a corpse was lying, lest some fearful apparition might terrify the watcher, has its counterpart in the things of the spirit. To most the mirror is veiled through life, or if unveiled, blank as the shield of Modred.

Nothing is more remarkable in the Introduction than M. Maeterlinck's passionate sympathy with his author. He would sacrifice half the classics of Europe sooner than this small book in a mediæval dialect. He takes no credit to himself for making Ruysbroeck known to modern readers. Somehow or other, his thoughts have been fertilising Europe all these centuries. The book bears no date, nor does it require one. Unseen, unheeded, the presence of the mystics has haunted the churches. In every spiritual battle they have led the van. The words they spoke in corners have been heard on the housetops. "The truths of mysticism have a strange privilege as compared with other truths: they can neither grow old nor die. There is not one truth which did not, some morning, descend upon this world, lovely in

strength and youth, covered with the wondrous dew which lies upon thoughts yet fresh and unspoken. Pass through the infirmaries of the human mind, where all thoughts are evermore coming to die—you will find there not one mystic thought. They have the immunity of the angels of Swedenborg, who progress continually towards the spring of their youth, so that the oldest angels appear the youngest."

Some space is devoted in the Introduction to earlier translations of Ruysbroeck's writings. The most notable was that produced in the sixteenth century by Laurentius Surius, a monk of Cologne. The chief fault of his work is tameness. His elegant Latinity gives only a faint idea of "l'amour immense et barbare," which is felt in every page of the original. Where his author uses one word, Surius gives us three or four; and at times, in despair of conveying the meaning, adds a feeble paraphrase. He trembles especially before the daring of Ruysbroeck's verses, and changes his wild flights of fancy into mild, irreproachable convent platitudes. As an instance of the language which terrified Surius, M. Maeterlinck quotes the following verse, in which Christ speaks to the soul:

"Je veux être ta nourriture,
Ton hôte et ton cuisinier,
Ma chair est bien rôtie
Sur la croix par pitié de toi;
Nous mangerons et nous boirons ensemble."

As illustrating Ruysbroeck's delight in colour and in natural beauty, I have ventured to translate two passages, selected by M. Maeterlinck from his longest work, *Le Livre du Tabernacle Spirituel*, in which he interprets the symbolism of the Ark of the Covenant and the sacrifices of the ancient law. In the first he is speaking of the adornments of the Tabernacle: "On these four curtains of divers colours the Lord ordered Bezaleel and Aholiab to weave and to embroider with their needles many ornaments. So likewise

our obedient will and our intelligence will place upon these four colours divers ornaments of virtues. On the white colour of innocence we shall place red roses, by evermore resisting all that is evil. Thus we maintain purity and crucify our own nature, and the red roses with their sweet perfume are very lovely on the white colour. Again, upon innocence we shall embroider sunflowers, by which we mean obedience; for when the sun rises in the east, the sunflower opens towards its rays, and turns ever eagerly towards the sun, even until its setting in the west. And at night it closes and hides its colours and awaits the return of the sun. Even so will we open our hearts by obedience towards the illumination of the grace of God, and humbly and eagerly will we follow that grace so long as we feel the warmth of love. And when the light of grace ceases to awaken first emotions, and we feel the warmth of love but little, or feel it not at all, then it is night, when we shall close our heart to all that may tempt it; and so we shall shut up within ourselves the golden colour of love, awaiting a new dawn with its new brightness and its fresh emotions. And thus shall we preserve innocence always in its pristine splendour. On the blue colour, which is like the firmament, we shall embroider birds with varied plumage; in other words, we shall keep before our minds, with clear observance, the lives and the works of the saints, which are manifold. These works are their varied plumage, so gracious and so beautiful, and with this they adorned themselves and soared to heaven. They are birds which we must observe with attention; if we are like them in their plumage, we shall follow them to their eternal rest. On the purple colour (that is, violet or blood-red, meaning generosity) we shall place water-lilies; and these symbolise the free possession of all the treasures of God. On the scarlet colour we shall place bright stars, by which I mean pious and devout prayer for the good of our neighbour, and reverent

and secret communion between God and ourselves. These are the stars which illuminate with their brightness the kingdoms of heaven and of earth, and they make us inwardly light-giving and fruit-bearing, and fix us in the firmament of eternal life."

In the second passage he deals with the symbolic meaning of two stones in the breastplate:—

"In the rays of the sun the topaz surpasses in splendour all the precious stones; and even so does the humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ excel in glory and in majesty all the saints and all the angels because of His union with the eternal Father. And in this union the reflection of the Divine Sun is so clear and so glorious, that it attracts and reflects in its clearness all the eyes of saints and angels in earnest gaze, and those also of just men to whom its splendour is revealed. So likewise does the topaz attract and reflect in itself the eyes of those who behold it, because of its great clearness. But if you were to cut the topaz it would darken, while if you leave it in its natural state it will remain clear. And so too, if you try to examine and penetrate the splendour of the eternal Word, that splendour will darken, and you will lose it. But leave it as it is, and follow it with earnest gaze, and with self-abnegation, and it will give you light." . . . "The communion of saints and the forgiveness of sins are obtained by the *waves of the night*, that is, by two sacraments of the Holy Church, baptism and penance. These are the waves which by faith wash that night of darkness, sin. The chrysolite symbolises to us that article of the creed 'the communion of saints and the forgiveness of sins,' for it is like the waves of the sea, translucent and green; and besides it has gleams of gold. Even so all saints and just men are translucent by grace or by glory, and they are green by their holy life, and they gleam with the gold of the Divine love which shines through them. And these three adornments are common

to all saints and to all just persons, for they are the treasure of the holy churches, here and in eternal life. And all who by penance have put away from them the colour of the Red Sea, that is, a sinful life, are like the chrysolite."

It is much to be hoped that M. Maeterlinck may continue his study of the mystics. His volume on Novalis, announced last year but still delayed, is awaited with the utmost interest. From certain hints in the Introduction, we are led to hope that at some future time he may give us a monograph on Swedenborg, whose personality is as little known to modern readers as his grave in the Scandinavian church near the Ratcliffe Highway.

Of one mystic, at least, we have a life-like portrait. The peasants of the Flemish valleys told how when a brother of Grönendal went into the forest, he saw a tree bright with fire. Coming closer, he found his prior on his knees at the foot of it, the light surrounding him as with a glory. A few vague legends are all that history has left us of Ruysbroeck L'Admirable, but M. Maeterlinck has rekindled the flame.

JANE T. STODDART.

THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

THE most explicit and elaborate description of the Righteousness which Christ requires in His subjects is given in the Sermon on the Mount. It would seem to have been the main object of this sermon to disentangle true Righteousness from all misconceptions of it, and sharply to contrast it with current imitations.

The *occasion* of this great utterance is hinted at in the words of chap. v. 17: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil." Our Lord had more than once to remove misconceptions, either actually existing or anticipated,

regarding His object. And apparently He had seen, previous to this address, symptoms of misconception regarding His attitude towards the Jewish law and towards those who considered themselves the guardians of the law. It was quite inevitable that such misconceptions should arise. The Pharisaic type of conformity to law was accepted without challenge as the ideal of righteousness; but one of the very first impressions created by Jesus was the impression that He was the enemy of such righteousness. Inevitably therefore Jesus was considered, by superficial observers, to be the enemy of the law.

A teacher who compels the public to look at unfamiliar truths is sure to be branded as a teacher of error, because it is not at first apparent how the unfamiliar coincides with and confirms familiar truth. A reformer who introduces a new style of goodness will be misinterpreted just in proportion to the advance he makes upon former ideas about goodness. Thus it befell our Lord. Renouncing, as He explicitly, emphatically, and with the utmost warmth renounced, the goodness of the Pharisees, the cry was at once raised against Him that He was destroying the law, and was Himself a libertine and a companion of loose people. And perceiving that even in honest and unprejudiced minds, this impression was gaining ground, He feels Himself called upon publicly to repudiate the attitude towards the law which was ascribed to Him, and to explain elaborately what the righteousness which He required and exhibited really was, and how it was related to the law. And it is as one who speaks to the uppermost thought in the mind of His hearers that He says: Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I am not come to destroy but to fulfil.

The word *πληρῶσαι* or *πληροῦν* means to fill up. It is used of filling to the brim a vessel empty or half-full. And hence it means to complete, to perfect. There are two

senses in which a law may be completed, or fulfilled. It may be fulfilled by being obeyed. Thus Paul, in Romans xiii. 8, says, "He that loveth his neighbour νόμον πεπλήρωκε." A law may also be fulfilled or perfected by being issued in a more complete and adequate form. In which of these senses does our Lord use the word πληρῶσαι?

Hardly in the former sense of doing all that the law commands, because He immediately goes on to illustrate His meaning and His attitude to the law by citing a number of instances in which the precepts of the old law are to be replaced by precepts of His own. Besides, had practical keeping of the law been meant by πληρῶσαι, then its proper opposite would have been not καταλύσαι but, as Wendt points out, παραβαίνειν. The word καταλύσαι means a good deal more than practical disobedience of a law; it means to deprive it of authority and destroy it as a law. And the proper opposite of this is not the practical observance of a law, but something more, the issuing of it with authority.

Luther then was on the right track when he said that πληρῶσαι here means, "to show the real kernel and true significance of the law, that men might learn what it is, and what it requires." Or rather it may be said that it means the issuing of the law in its ideal form. It is thus that our Lord fulfils the law: He keeps and He teaches it in a form that no longer needs amendment, revisal, improvement, as the Old Testament law did, but in a form that cannot be improved, that is perfect, *full*.

That this was our Lord's meaning is apparent from the abundant instances He proceeds to cite, in which the old law was to be henceforth known in a higher and more perfect form. Some of these instances are most instructive. In v. 38, *e.g.*, we read, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,"—the very formula of retaliation,—“but I say unto you that ye resist

not evil." It is impossible in this case to see anything else than a bold and authoritative repeal of the old law. But how are we to reconcile such an abrogation with the strong statement of v. 18, "Verily, I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled"? The solution lies in our Lord's idea of fulfilment. According to His idea the law was fulfilled by passing into a higher and better law.

This circumstance, that an instance of abrogation or repeal is given in illustration of the fulfilment our Lord had in view, should have warned interpreters that the strong words of v. 18 are not to be applied to the letter of the Old Testament. They do not mean that nothing in the Old Testament becomes obsolete, but only that every injunction, institution, ordinance of the Old Testament will be absorbed by Christianity. There was much abrogation in form, but all such abrogation gave the true development to what was abrogated. It was the abrogation of the seed in favour of the plant.

What is true of our Lord's fulfilment of the Law is true also of His fulfilment of the Prophets. In Him and His kingdom they found their satisfaction even although in some respects He so far transcended their anticipations as to eclipse and seem to annul their literal expressions.

The "fulfilment" then which is chiefly in view in this Sermon on the Mount is the exhibition of the true contents of the Law and the Prophets, and the reversal or supplementing of some of the Law's injunctions by new and higher commandments. Our Lord viewed His kingdom as the consummation to which Law and Prophets led up and towards which they had striven. The sum and substance of this kingdom was righteousness (vi. 33). The Law and the Prophets had pointed towards a righteousness they could never reach. Our Lord fulfils them by interpreting their deepest meaning and by defining and fulfilling their

aspiration, introducing in His own person and teaching a perfect righteousness.

The importance which our Lord attached to a clear understanding of the attitude He held towards the law is marked by the abundant detail with which He illustrates it. The subject has been much on His mind, so that when once He begins to speak of it, illustration is plentiful. He recognises, what all teachers have to bear in mind, that the bare enunciation or proof of a principle carries little weight to the ordinary mind; if it is to tell, it must be exhibited in particular, concrete instances. Our Lord therefore carries His principle all round the practical life of man and points out how in every part of conduct He heightens obligation. But this is all summed up under two more general characteristics which are to mark all righteousness of His kingdom.

I. The first of these characteristics is that so far from being lax it was to exceed the righteousness of the most exemplary of their contemporaries, the scribes and Pharisees. Notice the prominence given in *v.* 20 to the word *περισσεύσῃ*. Not the least of the commandments is to be forgotten in Christ's kingdom. On the contrary "except your righteousness *exceed* that of those whom you regard as irreproachable, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." He adduces the scribes and Pharisees not as instances of easy-going moralists whose righteousness might very easily be surpassed, but as the most nearly perfect law-keepers they knew. Pharisees, such as Paul, could honestly say that so far as regarded the requirements of the law, they were blameless. It is a mistake to suppose that they were mere formalists. They were moral men, immensely zealous for their religion and sparing no pains to advance it. What then was lacking in them? Their righteousness was lacking in two respects. It lacked *inwardness* and it lacked *spontaneity*. They did the external action which the law

required, but this action of theirs had no deep root in a corresponding state of heart. And what they did, they did by compulsion, because the law enjoined it, not because their own nature spontaneously produced it. These two characteristics of Pharisaic righteousness are very distinctly aimed at in this sermon.

1st. The externality of Pharisaic righteousness is in Christ's kingdom to be exchanged for inwardness. "It was said by them of old time Thou shalt not kill; but I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother," etc. "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart"—not that sin in thought is as mischievous as sin in thought consummated by sin in action, nor that the sudden and quickly repressed desire of a passionate nature is as guilty as deliberate sin: but that morality or righteousness is not a quality subsisting in the outward action, but in the man who does the action. Unless the action can be traced uninterruptedly back to the cleansed and sound will of the man who does it, no ethical value attaches to it. There is no morality but that which is inward. If the Pharisee commits no outward act of licentiousness, but has eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin, he can take no credit to himself in his outward abstinence.

To illustrate this our Lord makes use, in the closing part of His sermon, of two simple but memorable illustrations. You may, He says, put a sheep's fleece on a wolf, but you don't thereby change him into a sheep. The appearance is all right, but the nature is unchanged. The wolf is a wolf still. Or you may stick bunches of grapes on a thorn bush, or cover a thistle with figs, and so delude the ignorant, but the deception can only be for a time, and the thorn remains a thorn. So the Pharisee may have the right outward ap-

pearance. He may stud his life over with righteous actions, and so far as men can see may be unchallengeably moral; but, after all, this may only be the fleece laid on, not produced from the animal's nature, the fruit artificially adhering where it never grew. The Pharisee commits the fatal mistake of supposing that you make the tree good by making the fruit good, or that it matters very little what the tree is if the fruit is good. But the unalterable fact is that only when the tree is good can the fruit be good. The righteousness which is to pass in Christ's kingdom must be real; it must not be laid on from the outside, or go no deeper than man can see, but must spring from the inmost desires and will of the man. It is the man himself who must be righteous.

2nd. The righteousness of the kingdom of God is to exceed that of the Pharisees in *spontaneity*. What the Pharisee did, he did on compulsion. He recognised that the law made certain demands, and these demands he complied with that he might win the favour of God, or the applause of men. Our Lord lays His finger on this damning blot in chap. vi. 2, "When thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, *as the hypocrites do.*" "When thou prayest, thou shalt not be *as the hypocrites*, for they love to pray standing in the synagogues, that they may be seen of men." And v. 16, "When ye fast, be not as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance; for they disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast." Delitzsch, in one of his little tracts, draws a picture of a Jerusalem Pharisee *contriving* that he should be *surprised* by the hour of prayer in the open street, and straightway girding on his ponderous phylacteries, and making his prostrations. The simple words of Christ, "They have their reward," sound like a doom pronounced. The whole result of their action is past. They enjoy the stupid respect of the guileless vulgar, and earn the *reputation* of sanctity by sacrificing the possession of it. Righteousness of any kind which is wrought for a selfish object is not righteousness. What is done through

fear, or compulsion, or with a selfish end in view, rises no higher than its source.

No better commentary on our Lord's exposure of ostentatious, hypocritical and legal righteousness can be found than the following passage from M. Aurelius' *Meditations*: "One man when he has done a service to another is ready to set it down to his account as a favour conferred. Another, while he may not go so far as that, still thinks of the man as his debtor, and is conscious of what he has done. A third does not, if we may so speak, even know what he has done and betrays no consciousness of his kindness, but is like a vine which has produced grapes and seeks for nothing beyond after it has produced the fruit proper to it. As a horse when he has run, a dog when he has caught the game, a bee when it has made its honey, so a man, when he has done a good act, does not call out for others to come and see but goes on to another act, as a vine goes on to produce again grapes in the season. What more do you want when you have done a man a service? Are you not content that you have done something conformable to your nature and do you seek reward for it, as if the eye should demand a recompense for seeing, or the feet for walking?"

This passage from the great Stoic opens up the significance of our Lord's comparison of a good man to a good tree. The good man will bring forth righteousness spontaneously, uniformly, as a good tree produces its proper fruit. He will do righteous actions not because he is told to do so, not because he is paid for doing so, but because it is his nature so to do. Transplant an apple-tree and set it where you will, it still bears apples, not oranges; and each man has his own proper fruit, good or bad, which he will inevitably bear, place him in what circumstances you please. Christ in His kingdom designs to have good men: not men who *at first* can do all duty and all righteousness without persuasion or putting constraint upon themselves—for, after all, this life is a place of training—but men whose hearts are

right, whose leanings and likings are really towards righteousness, and who do good because they like it, or are resolved to like it, and of whom there is good hope that one day they will do it as spontaneously, naturally, irrepressibly and without thought of reward, as a good tree produces its fruit.

II. The righteousness of Christ's kingdom was also to exceed the righteousness currently required among men: "If ye love them who love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?" [*τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε*;] An excess, a something more, a *τί περισσὸν* is required in Christ's kingdom. Publicans do not think of claiming reward for loving their families, for liberally aiding schemes they approve or persons they love, for filling their place in life honourably, helpfully, manfully—what *more* do Christians? They are not to be content with rivalling natural and everyday virtues. This challenge has been put to Christians in our own day with singular force. A class of writers, chiefly American, has graphically, and perhaps with some exaggeration, depicted the virtues that survive even in the roughest outcasts of society. These writers aim at showing that a germ of good, an unselfishness capable of dying for others, often survives a life of vice. This is a challenge to Christianity, and a challenge Christians should welcome.

The goodness of nature is very real, and not easy to outdo. In the same company you will sometimes meet two men, one of whom is a Christian, the other professedly not a Christian. And yet of those two, you would choose the non-Christian, not only for the companionship of the hour, but for the wear and stress of life, for all that demands inviolable integrity and honour, friendly consideration, self-forgetting love. With more things to grieve and embitter him, he will show an even spirit; a fairness and candour, a public-spiritedness, an unassuming modesty which fairly

put to shame the unrulèd spirit of the Christian. Such fine displays of temper, of fortitude and bravery, of natural affection, of contempt for wealth, of love of truth and fair play does one see in men who would not relish being called Christian, that we shrink from being brought into competition with them. This, however, is the calling of the follower of Christ. The righteousness He demands is a righteousness with more of principle in it, and therefore with more of constancy and completeness than any natural virtue.

But also to those who show us these splendid specimens of natural goodness, our Lord speaks, and He tells them that they must not be satisfied with it. The virtue of natural disposition is not enough. There must be a principle in virtue which applies to the whole of man and to the whole of life; which creates virtues where before there were none, which touches human nature at its root and radically purifies and ennobles it.

MARCUS DODS.

THE FAITH OF GOD.

Ἐχετε πίστιν Θεοῦ (Mark xi. 22). Πίστει νοοῦμεν καθηρῆσθαι τοὺς αἰῶνας ῥήματι Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων τὰ βλέπομενα γεγόνειναι (Hebrews xi. 3).

THERE is some difficulty in connecting the second of these passages with its context, if it means, as it is usually understood to mean, that we realise by an exercise of our faith that God made the world. Before considering whether this is the correct rendering of the passage, let us look back to the prophet whom the writer to the Hebrews has just quoted at the close of the preceding chapter. The burden of Habakkuk was: "How long shall I cry unto Thee, and Thou wilt not hear?" (i. 2). He was feeling impatient, like other reformers, "for some great cure," which would work immediately and obviously; he was tempted to marvel that God could look on at evil and hold His peace (i. 13); but on taking a wider outlook upon God's way of working in this world, the prophet found that "The vision is yet for the appointed time, and it hasteth towards the end and shall not lie:

though it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not delay" (ii. 3). Then he sees that "the just shall live by his faith" (4); the righteous man whose mind is attuned to the mind of God, or, as Paul would say, ὁ δικαιώθεις ἐκ πίστεως, can afford to wait patiently, because he is fully confident that, "though it tarry, it will surely come." God moves *ohne hast, ohne rast*. So the writer to the Hebrews says: "Ye have need of patience, that having done the will of God, ye may receive the promise." "For yet a very little while, He that cometh shall come and shall not tarry. But my righteous one shall live by faith" (x. 36-38). The man who would save the world, and the man who would save his soul, alike need patient faith, faith that makes the future as real as the present and things spiritual as clear and certain as things material (xi. 1). The Elders had witness borne to them that they lived in such faith as this (xi. 2). From verse 4 (after the apparent interruption of verse 3) to the end of the chapter a long list of the elders is given, who witnessed to this principle of faith, who were ready to forego the pleasures of the present and the material for the higher pleasures of the future and the spiritual. To this "so great a cloud of witnesses" the writer adds, "Jesus, the author and perfecter of faith, who for the joy that was set before Him endured the cross" (xii. 2).

The harmony of the whole passage is complete, if verse 3 of chap. xi. is rendered, as it is quite admissible to render it, "We perceive that by faith have the ages been fashioned by the word of God so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear." God realised His own ideal. God set the first great example of faith, when at the beginning His spirit brooded upon the dark, waste and void space, and out of these three things, Darkness, Disorder and Barrenness, which are not "things which do appear," He created Light, Order, and Fruitfulness—How? by thinking of them. "God thought about me, and so I grew." But He did not create a *κοσμος*, a fully equipped and perfected universe at one stroke; rather He pieced together (*κατήρτισεν*) in His mind successive products of evolution through long ages, seeing the end from the beginning, but not hurrying to that end; choosing rather to endure the cross, the agony of the world's long travail, for the sake of the liberty of the glory, which at last His whole creation should share with Him (Rom. viii. 19-22).

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XIII. THE HOLY SPIRIT.

IN no subject connected with Paulinism is it more necessary to be on our guard against a purely speculative or theoretic treatment than in that of the Holy Spirit. On this solemn theme above all the apostle's utterances are the echoes of a living experience, not the lucubrations of a scholastic theologian. The great question for him was not, what the Holy Spirit is, but what He does in the soul of a believing man ; and to be faithful interpreters of his mind, we must follow the guidance of the same religious interest. In the light of this consideration one can see the objection which lies against allowing the discussion of the present topic to be dominated, as it is in some recent monographs, by the antithesis between spirit and flesh. It is true that this is a very prominent Pauline antithesis, and it is also true that handling the locus of the Holy Spirit in connection therewith need not lead us away from the practical, inasmuch as the antithesis, as presented in the Pauline literature, signifies that the Holy Spirit is the antagonist and conqueror of the flesh as the seat of sin. But all antitheses tend to provoke the intellectual impulse to abstract definition, and this one in particular readily raises questions as to what spirit is and what flesh is, and draws us into abstruse discussions as to what ideas are represented by the terms, and what theory of the universe underlies their use.

No such objection can be taken to the place here assigned to the doctrine of the Spirit as a topic coming under the general head of the Pauline Apologetic, and more parti-

cularly under that part of it which has for its aim the reconciliation of the Pauline Gospel with ethical interests. For this setting of the doctrine not only allows but compels us to give prominence to that which forms the distinctive contribution of St. Paul to the New Testament teaching on the subject, the great and fruitful thought that the Holy Spirit is the ground and source of Christian sanctity—a commonplace now, but by no means a commonplace when he wrote his epistles. Only one drawback is to be dreaded. The position of the doctrine of the Spirit's work in the Pauline Apologetic rather than in the heart of the Pauline Gospel might create in ill-informed minds an erroneous impression as to its importance, as if it were an afterthought to meet a difficulty, instead of being, as it is, a central truth of the system.

That the Divine Spirit was present in the community of believers, revealing there His mighty power, was no discovery of the Apostle Paul's. The fact was patent to all. By all accounts the primitive church was the scene of remarkable phenomena which arrested general attention, and bore witness to the operation of a cause of a very unusual character to which beholders gave the name of the Holy Ghost. The Pauline Epistles,¹ the Epistle to the Hebrews,² and the *Acts of the Apostles*, all refer to these phenomena in terms which show what a large place they held in the consciousness of believers. Among the manifestations of the Spirit's influence the most common and the most striking appears to have been *speaking with tongues*. The nature of this phenomenon has been a subject of discussion, chiefly on account of the difficulty of reconciling the narrative in *Acts* ii. with the statements of St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians. But following him, our most reliable authority, we arrive at the conclusion that the gift

¹ *Vide* especially 1 Cor. xii. and x.v.

² *Vide* Heb. vi. 4, 5.

consisted in ecstatic utterance, not necessarily in the words of any recognised language, and not usually intelligible to hearers. "He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men but unto God."¹ The speaker was not master of himself; he was carried headlong, as if driven by a mighty wind; he was subject to strong emotion which must find vent somehow, but which could not be made to run in any accustomed channel. To the onlooker the state would present the aspect of a possession overmastering the reason and the will.

It was in phenomena of this sort, preternatural effects of some great power, that the first Christians saw the hand of God. The miraculousness of the phenomena was what they laid stress on. The more unusual, and out of the ordinary course, the more divine. In accordance with this view the Spirit's work was conceived of as transcendent, miraculous, and charismatic. The power of the Holy Ghost was a power coming from without, producing extraordinary effects that could arrest the attention even of a profane eye—perceptible to a Simon Magus, *e.g.*,² communicating charisms, technically called "spiritual," but not ethical in nature; rather consisting in the power to do things marvellous and create astonishment in vulgar minds. The fact that so crude an idea prevailed in the Apostolic Church bears convincing testimony to the prominence of the preternatural element in the experience of that early time. And of course that prominence had for its natural consequence a very partial one-sided view of the office of the Holy Spirit. His renewing, sanctifying function seems to have been left very much in the background. He was thought of as the author not of grace (*χάρις*) as we understand the term, but of charisms (*χαρίσματα*), and "spiritual" in the vocabulary of the period was an attribute ascribed to the effects of a spirit of *power*, not to those of a spirit of *holiness*. This statement is

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 2.

² Acts viii. 18.

warranted by some narratives of Apostolic Church history in the book of Acts, in which the communication of the Holy Ghost is represented as following, not preceding, the believing reception of the Gospel. So *e.g.* in the account of the evangelistic movement in Samaria.¹ It was after the Samaritans had received the word of God that Peter and John, commissioned by the Apostles in Jerusalem, went down and prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost. It is indeed expressly stated, as a reason for the prayer, that "as yet He was fallen upon none of them; only they had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus." And to what effect they received the Holy Ghost in answer to prayer may be inferred from the fact that the result was immediately obvious to Simon the Sorcerer. They must have begun to speak with tongues and to prophesy, as happened in the case of the disciples at Ephesus, who had lived in ignorance of the gift of the Spirit till St. Paul came and laid his hands on them.² In these naive records, which have every appearance of being a faithful reflection of the spirit of the early Jewish Church, faith, conversion, is not thought of as a work of the Spirit, but rather as the precursor to His peculiar operations, which in turn are regarded as a seal set by God upon faith. We are not to suppose that any one meant deliberately to exclude the Holy Ghost from the properly spiritual sphere, and to confine His agency to the charismatic region. That the author of *Acts* had no such thought may be gathered from the fact that he ascribed Lydia's openness of mind to the Gospel to Divine influence.³ Possibly, if the matter had been plainly put before them, all the members of the Apostolic Church would have acknowledged that the Holy Spirit was the source of faith, hope and love, as well as of tongues, and prophesyings, and miraculous healings. Only the latter phenomena appeared the more remarkable, and the former appeared a matter of

¹ *Acts* viii. 14-24.² *Acts* xix. 1-7.³ *Acts* xvi. 14.

course ; whence it resulted that the gift of the Holy Spirit came in ordinary dialect to mean, not the power to believe, hope and love, but the power to speak ecstatically, and to prophesy enthusiastically, and to heal the sick by a word of prayer.

Very natural then and always ; for the same tendency exists now to prefer the charismatic to the spiritual, and to think more highly of the occasional stormy wind of preternatural might than of the still constant air of divine influence. But the tendency has its dangers. What if these marvellous gifts become divorced from reason and conscience, and the inspired one degenerate into something very like a madman ; or, still worse, present the unseemly spectacle of high religious excitement combined with sensual impulses and low morality ? Why then there will be urgent need for revision of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, and for considering whether it be wise to lay so much stress on charisms, as distinct from graces, in our estimate of His influence. This was probably one of the causes which led St. Paul to study carefully the whole subject. For the possibilities above pointed out were not long of presenting themselves as sorrowful realities. Ananias and Sapphiras and Simons,—the whole fraternity of people who can be religious and at the same time false, greedy, sensual, bending like reeds before the swollen stream in a time of enthusiasm without radical change of heart,—soon began to swarm. They appeared everywhere, tares among the wheat of the kingdom ; they were unusually abundant in the Corinthian Church, where everybody could speak in one way or another, and virtue was at a discount,—a church mostly gone to tongue. Phenomena of this sort, familiar to him from the beginning of his Christian career, would set the apostle on musing, with the result of a deepened insight into the nature, scope and great aim of the Spirit's function among those who believed in Jesus.

These phenomena would give a thoughtful man food for reflection in a direction not yet indicated. They showed very clearly that Christian sanctity was by no means so much a matter of course as antecedent to experience many might be inclined to suppose. At first it was thought that the great thing was to get the charisms, and that the graces might be left to look after themselves. But when men arose who could prophesy in Christ's name, and by His name cast out devils, and do many other wonderful works, and yet remain bad in heart and in life,¹ then the wise would begin to see that Christian goodness was the important thing, and also the most difficult, and that the Holy Ghost's influence was more urgently needed as an aid against the baser nature of man than as a source of showy gifts of doubtful utility.

In some such way we may conceive the Apostle Paul to have arrived at his distinctive view of the Holy Spirit, according to which the Spirit's function is before all things to help the Christian to be holy. At all events, however he reached it, this undoubtedly is his view. By this statement it is not intended to suggest that the apostle broke entirely away from the earlier charismatic theory. He not only did not doubt or deny, he earnestly believed in the reality of the miraculous charisms. He even sympathised with the view that in their miraculousness lay the proof that the power of God was at work. He probably carried this supernaturalism into the ethical sphere, and saw in Christian holiness a work of the Divine Spirit because for him it was the greatest of all miracles that a poor sinful man was enabled to be holy. This may have been the link of connection between his theory of the Spirit's influence and that of the primitive Jewish Church; the common element in both theories being the axiom that the supernatural is divine, the element peculiar to his that the moral

¹ *Matt.* vii. 22.

miracle of a renewed man is the greatest and most important of all. But while giving the moral miracle the first place, he did not altogether despise the charismatic miracle. He criticised the relative phenomena, as one aware that they were in danger of running wild, and that they very much needed to be brought under the control of the great law of edification.¹ But he criticised in an ethical interest, not with any aversion to the supernatural. His criticism doubtless tended to throw the charisms into the shade and even to bring about their ultimate disappearance. But there is nothing in his letters to justify the assertion that he desired their discontinuance, or deliberately worked for it. Even his supreme concern for edification would not lead him to adopt such a policy. For the charisms were not necessarily or invariably non-edifying. The power to heal² could not be exercised without contributing to the common benefit. Even speaking with tongues might occasionally be edifying, as when one here and there in an assembly cried out ecstatically: "Abba Father," or uttered groans expressive of feelings that could not be embodied in articulate language.³ The one phenomenon, even if it stood alone without any added prayer, was a witness of the Divine Spirit to the sonship of the believer. It was but a child's cry, uttered in helpless weakness, but the greater the helplessness the more conclusive the witness; for who could teach the spiritual babe to utter such an exclamation but the Spirit of its Heavenly Father? The other phenomenon was but a speechless sound, a groan *de profundis*, but then it was a groan of the Holy Ghost, and as such revealed His unspeakably comforting sympathy with the

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 26; πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομήν.

² 1 Cor. xii. 9; ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρισμα ἰαμάτων.

³ Gunkel (*Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, p. 67), suggests that both these phenomena belong to the category of "Glossolalie." It is one of many fruitful fresh suggestions to be found in this book to which I gladly acknowledge my obligations.

sighing of the whole creation, and of the body of believers in Jesus, for the advent of the new redeemed world.

Yet withal the apostle believed that there were better things than charisms, and a better way than to covet them as the *summum bonum*. It was better, he held, to love than to prophesy or to speak with tongues, and to help a man to love a more worthy function of the Spirit than to bestow on him all the charisms. For in the charity extolled in 1 *Corinthians* xiii. he did recognise an effect of the Divine activity, as we learn from the Epistle to the Galatians, where ἀγάπη heads the list in the catalogue of the fruit of the Spirit.¹ What an immense step onwards in the moral education of the world this doctrine that love and kindred graces are the best evidence that a man is under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that only they who love deserve to be called *spiritual*! In the Epistle to the Galatians love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness and self-control are set in antithesis to the works of the flesh, as the proper fruit of the Spirit. It is an instructive contrast; but even more significant, because more unexpected, is it to find the apostle in effect setting these virtues in contrast to the charisms, and saying to the church of his time "the true proper fruit of the Spirit is not the gift of healing, or of working miracles, or of speaking with tongues, or of interpreting tongues; it is love that suffereth long and is kind, that envieth not, and boasteth not; that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things."² No one possessing ordinary moral discernment can mistake the works of the flesh for the fruit of the Spirit, though here also mistakes are possible even in the case of religious men who confound their own private resentments with zeal for the glory of God. But how easy to imagine oneself a spiritual, spirit-possessed man, because one has prophesied, and cast

¹ Gal. v. 22.

² 1 Cor. xiii. 4-7.

out devils in Christ's name ; and how hard on such a self-deceived one the stern repudiation of the Lord, "I know you not," and the withering contempt expressed in the words of His apostle: "if a man thinketh himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself."¹

Divine action, when transcendent and miraculous, is intermittent. The speaker in a tongue does not always speak ecstatically, but only when the Power from on high lays hold on him. In the case of the charisms it does not greatly matter. But in the case of the graces it is otherwise. Here intermittent action of the Spirit means failure, for a man cannot be said to be sanctified unless there be formed in him fixed habitudes of grace manifesting themselves with something like the regularity of a law of nature. But where the action of the Spirit is intermittent there can be no habits or abiding states, but only occasional elevations into the third heaven of devout thought and holy emotion, followed by lapses to the lower levels in which unassisted human nature is at home. We can see what is involved by reference to the case of those who cried in ecstatic moods: *Abba ὁ πατήρ*. While they were in the mood they realized that God was their Father, that they were His sons. But the filial consciousness was not established in their hearts ; when the transcendent influence out of which they spoke for the moment passed away, they sank down from the filial spirit to the legal, from trust to fear. To eliminate this fitfulness, and secure stable spiritual character, transcendency must give place to immanence, and preternatural action to action in accordance with spiritual law. The Divine Spirit must cease to be above and outside, and take up His abode in our hearts, and His influence from being purely mysterious and magical must be exerted through the powers and in accordance with the nature of the human soul. Without pretending that the

¹ *Gal. vi. 3.*

apostle anticipated the modern doctrine of Divine immanence it must be said that an indwelling of the Holy Spirit in man finds distinct recognition in his pages. He represents the Christian man as a temple in which the Spirit of God has His abode.¹ Even the body of a believer he conceives of under that august figure; as if the Divine Spirit had entered into as intimate a connection with his material organism as that which the soul sustains to the body.² And from that indwelling he expects not only the sanctification of the inner spiritual nature, but the endowment of the mortal body with unending life.³ The idea of the believing man as the temple of the Spirit is introduced by the apostle as a motive for self-sanctification, as if out of respect for our august Tenant. But the same idea may be held to teach by implication the unintermitting, sanctifying influence of the immanent Spirit, whose constant concern it must be to keep His chosen abode worthy of Himself. His honour is no wise compromised by withholding for a season or permanently from any believer charismatic power. The withdrawal may even be an index of spiritual advance from the crudity of an incipient religious enthusiasm to the calm of self-control. But the temple of God cannot be defiled by sin without injury to His good Name, therefore for His own sake He is concerned to be constantly active in keeping the sanctuary holy.

The immanency of the Holy Spirit carries further along with it, as has been stated, that His influence as a sanctifier is exerted in accordance with the laws of a rational nature. His instrument must be truth fitted, if believed, to tell upon the conscience and the heart. This fact also finds occasional, though not very elaborate, recognition in the Pauline epistles. It is broadly indicated in the text in which the apostle tells the Thessalonians that God had chosen them unto salvation in sanctification of the Spirit

¹ 1 Cor. iii. 16.² 1 Cor. vi. 15.³ Rom. viii. 11.

and belief of the truth.¹ From this text the fair inference is that the Spirit sanctifies through Christian truth believed. We naturally expect to find useful hints on this topic in the epistles written to the Church in which the charismatic action of the Spirit was specially conspicuous, and in which at the same time there was a great need for sanctification. And we are not disappointed. And it is noteworthy that the hints we do find connect sanctification closely with Christ. "Sanctified in Christ Jesus,"² "Sanctified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ,"³ "Christ made unto us sanctification."⁴ The idea suggested in the second of these phrases may be that by the very name he bears the Christian is consecrated to God. But this ideal sanctification is of value only on account of the real sanctification of which it is the earnest. And the other two phrases teach that the material conditions of such sanctification are provided in Christ as an object of knowledge and faith. Christ fully taken advantage of in these ways will completely insure our sanctification. The Spirit dwelling in the heart sanctifies through Christ dwelling in the heart by faith, and by *thought* in order to faith. Hence it comes that the spirit and Christ are sometimes identified, as in the sentence "the Lord is the spirit,"⁵ and the expression "the Lord the Spirit."⁶ As a matter of subjective experience the two indwellings cannot be distinguished; to consciousness they are one. The Spirit is the *alter ego* of the Lord.

The truth as it is in Jesus, the idea of Christ, is the Spirit's instrument in sanctification. And whence do we get our idea of Christ? Surely from the earthly history of our Lord! It has been supposed that the apostle means to cast a slight on that history as of little value to faith when he says, "Even though we have known Christ after

¹ 2 *Thess.* ii. 13.² 1 *Cor.* i. 2.³ 1 *Cor.* vi. 11.⁴ 1 *Cor.* i. 29.⁵ 2 *Cor.* iii. 17.⁶ 2 *Cor.* iii. 18.

the flesh, yet now we know Him so no more." ¹ But what he here says, like much else in his principal epistles, must be looked at in the light of his controversy with the Judaists. His opponents attached great importance to mere external companionship with Jesus, and because he had not, like the eleven, enjoyed the privilege of such companionship, they called in question his right to be an apostle. His reply to this in effect was that not outside acquaintance, but insight was what qualified for apostleship. The reply implies that the former may exist without the latter, which from familiar experience we know to be true. How ignorant oftentimes are a man's own relations of his inmost spirit! What is the value of any knowledge which is lacking in this respect? Knowledge of a man does not mean knowing his clothes, his features, his social position. I do not know a man because I know him to be a man of wealth who resides in a spacious dwelling, and is surrounded with many comforts, and adorned with many honours. Some are very ambitious to know a person of whom these things are true, and they would cease to know him if he were deprived of these advantages. This is to know a man after the flesh in Pauline phrase, and if the man so known be a man of moral discernment as well as of means and position, he will heartily despise such snobbish acquaintances who are friends of his good fortune rather than of himself. Somewhat similar was the apostle's feeling in regard to the stress laid by the Judaists on acquaintance with Jesus after the manner of those who were with Him during the years of His public ministry. To cast a slight on the words and acts spoken and done in that ministry, and on the revelation of character made thereby, was not, I imagine, in all his thoughts.

Of systematic absolute neglect of the history of Jesus the apostle cannot be charged in view of the importance he

¹ 2 Cor. v. 16.

attaches to one event therein, the crucifixion, and that in connection with the work of the Holy Spirit. The Spirit he represents as shedding abroad in our hearts the love of God as manifested in the death of Christ,¹ overwhelming us, as it were, with a sense of its grandeur and graciousness, and so materially contributing to our sanctification through the strong hope it inspires and the consciousness of obligation it creates. One fails to see why every other event and aspect of Christ's earthly life should not be made to contribute its quota towards the same great end, and the whole evangelic story turned into motive power for sanctification. It is quite true that St. Paul has not done this, and that he has restricted his attention very much to the death and resurrection. But that is no reason why we should draw our idea of the Christ by whose indwelling we are to be sanctified exclusively from these two events. The fuller and more many-sided our idea the better, the more healthy the resulting type of Christian piety. The entire gospel story is needed and useful. To those who believe in an inspired New Testament no other proof of this statement should be necessary than the simple fact that the gospels are there. The Gospels say little about the Spirit, at least the Synoptical Gospels, but they supply the data with which the Spirit works. The Pauline Epistles say much about the Spirit and His work, but comparatively little about His tools. Gospels and Epistles must be taken together if we wish to construct a full wholesome doctrine of sanctification. No good can ultimately come to Christian piety from treating the evangelic history as a scaffolding which may be removed after the edifice of faith in a risen Lord has been completed. Antæus-like faith retains its strength by keeping in touch with the ground of history. The mystic's reliance on immediate influence emanating from the ascended Christ, or from the Holy Spirit at His

¹ *Rom.* v. 5 ; *cf.* v. 8.

behest, without reference to the Jesus that lived in Palestine, exposes to all the dangers connected with vague raptures, lawless fancies, and spiritual pride. That the Divine Logos, or the Eternal Spirit of truth and goodness, can and does work on the human mind outside Christendom is most certainly to be believed. But that fact is no valid reason why endeavours should not be made to propagate Christianity among the heathen by missionary agencies, still less why there need have been no historical Christianity to propagate. In like manner it may be affirmed that, while it may be possible for the Divine Spirit in a transcendental way to exert an influence on Christians without the aid of the "Word," the results of such action are not likely to be of a kind to compensate for the loss of knowledge of the historical Christ. It is true indeed that the historicity of the Gospels may be more or less open to question. In so far as that is the case, it is our loss. The cloud of uncertainty enveloping the life of Jesus is matter of regret, not a thing to be taken with philosophical indifference as if it were of no practical consequence.

An apology is needed for making these observations, which to men of sober judgment will appear self-evident, but some present-day tendencies must be my excuse. And it is not irrelevant to offer such remarks in connection with the Pauline doctrine of the Spirit and the circumstances amidst which it was formulated. There can be little doubt that the religious enthusiasm of the apostolic age tended to breed indifference to the historical Christ. What need of history to men who were bearers of the Spirit, and were in daily receipt of revelations? I should be sorry to believe that the apostle sympathised with this tendency, though some have supposed that he did.¹ Be that as it may, what

¹ On this point Gloël (*Der Heilige Geist*, 173) remarks: "Paul is far removed from an enthusiastic subjectivism which consoles itself with personal experiences, but loses out of sight the historical foundations of the faith."

is certain is that the tendency was unwholesome. It was well that it had not the field altogether to itself, and that in spite of it the memory of Jesus was lovingly preserved. That memory saved Christianity.¹

To rescue the name of St. Paul from being used as an authority for contempt of the historical, it may be well to cite another text in which he connects the work of the Spirit with the example of Christ. In *Galatians* vi. 1, he exhorts to considerate gentle treatment of such as have been overtaken in a fault. The exhortation is addressed to the *πνευματικοί*, i.e. those who are supposed to be specially filled with the Spirit, as if they were in danger of assuming a tone of severity, and so of reviving in the Church under a new Christian guise, the Pharisaic type of character. Forbearing conduct towards offenders is then enforced by the consideration, that it is in accordance with "the law of Christ." No facts are specified to justify the title, but the reference is evidently to a manner of action on the part of Jesus with which it was possible for the Galatians to make themselves acquainted through available sources of information. Christ's endurance of death on the Cross was the most signal instance of His bearing the burdens of others; but there is no reason for limiting the reference to it. The apostle doubtless writes as one familiar with the fact that Jesus detested the inhumanity of the Pharisees as represented in the behaviour of the elder brother of the parable, and in contrast to them pitied straying sheep and prodigal sons. In effect he sets before the Galatians as their model the Jesus of the Gospels, at once in His

¹ Gunkel says: "Not a pneumatic speculation like that of Paul, which offered no security that Christianity should keep in the tracks of the historically given Gospel, but the infinitely imposing impression of the historical Christ has brought about that Christianity has not lost its historical character. The memory of Jesus has in this respect paralysed the pneumatic phenomena of the apostolic age and survived them for more than a millennium." (*Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, p. 61.)

sympathies with the sinful, and in his antipathies towards the character of spurious saints, who, while boasting many virtues, lacked the cardinal grace of charity. The true *πνευματικός*, therefore, in his view is the man before whose conscience the enlightening Spirit of truth keeps the Christlike ethical ideal as an object of ardent admiration and earnest pursuit. If this be indeed the way the Spirit takes to make the Christian holy, then it cannot be doubted that His influence makes for real sanctity. His power may seem small, its very existence as something distinct from our personal effort may appear questionable—all immanent Divine action is liable to this doubt—but at all events it works in the right direction. In view of the extent to which the gracious spirit of Jesus has grown in the community, and of the deepened sense of responsibility for the welfare of others visible on all sides in our time, why should we have difficulty in believing that the power of the Holy Ghost is as mighty as it is beneficent? At last the Spirit of Truth has come to show us what Jesus was, and what true religion is: to teach us that orthodox faith by itself is nothing, and that Christlike love is all in all.

It cannot be said that the apostle has laid undue stress on the work of the Spirit in his Apologetic, as if taking refuge in a supernatural Power in absence of any other adequate guarantee in his system for holy living. It may be asked, Why should the Divine Spirit be available for the enlightenment or renewal of Christians exclusively, or even more than for that of other men? The reply must be, in the first place, that neither in the Pauline epistles, nor anywhere else in the New Testament, is it said or assumed that the Holy Spirit's presence is confined to Christendom. The underlying postulate rather is that the Spirit of God, like God Himself, is everywhere, even in the inanimate creation, working towards the birth of a new world wherein dwelleth righteousness. He is the atmosphere of

the moral world ready to enter into every human heart wherever He finds an opening. If therefore He is in the Christian world more than in other parts of humanity, it must be because He finds there a more abundant entrance. And that, again, must be due to the intrinsic and superior excellence of the Christian Faith. The Spirit of God is a sanctifier in Christendom more than elsewhere because He there has at command the best material for His purpose.¹

A. B. BRUCE.

AGRAPHA.

SAYINGS OF OUR LORD NOT RECORDED IN THE GOSPELS.

II.

A NEW interest has been given to this subject quite recently by a collection which has been published by Professor Margoliouth of the sayings attributed to Christ by Mohammedan writers.² The collection is interesting to Christians because it shows how much more frequent the appeal of Mohammedans to the authority of our Lord is than we had known, and so supplies a fresh hope of approximation in future years. But yet the general type of these sayings is strangely unlike the type of the Lord's teaching in the Gospels, and also the type of the non-canonical sayings retained in Christian tradition. Forty-eight of them are quoted, of which by far the greater number contain wise, shrewd, kindly advice, such as finds its analogy in the sayings of the Jewish Fathers rather than in the Gospels. They are the utterances of a teacher of knowledge rather

¹ The question how far St. Paul recognised a law of growth in sanctification will be considered in another connection.

² *The Expository Times*, November and December, 1893; January, 1894. "Christ in Islam."

than of the revealer of life. Others have a far stronger ascetic tendency than is to be found in the Gospels; they seemed to have passed through a monastic channel before reaching Mohammedanism; thus, "There was no form of address Jesus loved better to hear than 'poor man.'" "O company of Apostles, make hungry your livers, and bare your bodies; perhaps then your hearts may see God." "Jesus was asked by some men to guide them to some course whereby they might enter Paradise. He said: Speak not at all. They said, We cannot do this. He said, Then only say what is good"; or again, "Jesus said, Devotion is of ten parts; nine of them consist in silence and one in solitude." Others have a touch of tenderness for animals, which is absent from the Gospels: *e.g.*, "Jesus passing by a swine, said to it, Go in peace. They said, O Spirit of God, sayest thou so to a swine? He answered, I would not accustom my tongue to evil." Or the story which is already familiar to English readers, through a poetic rendering by Miss Hopkins: "Jesus one day walked with His apostles, and they passed by the carcase of a dog. The apostles said, How foul is the smell of this dog. But Jesus said, How white are its teeth." Others have parallels in the Gospels, but seem to be scarcely more than reminiscences of them, adding however to the Lord's teaching of true love and charity the duty of a true hatred. Thus "God revealed to Jesus, Though thou shouldst worship with the devotion of the inhabitants of the heaven and the earth, but hadst not love in God *and hate in God*, it would avail thee nothing." "Jesus said: Make yourselves beloved of God by hating the evil doers. Bring yourselves nearer to God by removing far from them and seek God's favour by their displeasure." Or again, more akin to the Gospels: "If a man send away a beggar empty from his house, the angels will not visit his house for seven nights." "Beware of glances; for they plant passion in

the heart, and that is a sufficient temptation." In their bearing on the Lord's person, the tendency of these sayings is distinctly humanitarian; thus Jesus is represented as enquiring of Gabriel the date of the day of judgment; and God is represented as saying to Jesus, "Exhort thyself, and if thou hast profited by the exhortation, then exhort others; otherwise be ashamed before Me." A comparison of our Lord's prayer in St. John xvii. with the following, which is here put into His mouth, is very significant. "O God, I am this morning unable to ward off what I would not and to obtain what I would. The power is in another's hands. I am bound by my works, and there is none so poor that he is poorer than I. O God, make not mine enemy to rejoice over me, nor my friend to grieve over me: make not my trouble to be in the matter of my faith: make not the world my chief care, and give not the power over me to him who will not pity me." This is essentially the prayer of a man; certainly not even that of the Son of man, much less of the Son of God.

I have quoted these sayings rather fully, both because some of them are interesting for their own sake, and also because they are a striking illustration of the way in which tradition runs riot when left to itself for centuries, and of the debt which Christians owe to Scripture for stereotyping early the record of the Lord's words, and placing that record in the forefront of that which is necessary to salvation. And this thought leads me back to the main purpose of this article, which is to state and examine the theory which Resch has based upon his collection of Agrapha.

His theory, if true, would emphasize the debt due to a written record, for it is this, that these Agrapha are, in the main, quotations borrowed from an early written Semitic Gospel, which preceded all our canonical Gospels, and which was known to and used by St. Paul and other writers of the New Testament. This is a startling result to have

reached; let us notice the stages in the argument which lead to it. These are three:—

(i.) Several of these sayings are quoted not as mere *sayings* but as *Scripture*, and more definitely still as found “*in the Gospel*.” Thus we find that No. 43, “Prove yourselves trustworthy money changers,” is quoted as from “the Scripture” by Clement of Alexandria, by Origen and by Palladius; as spoken by our Lord “in the Gospel” by Epiphanius; while Cassian calls it “a Gospel parable,” “a Gospel saying.” Again (No. 13), “Cleave unto the saints, for they who cleave to them shall be sanctified” is introduced by Clement of Rome with the formula *γέγραπται*. Other instances could be given, but these are sufficient for our purpose.

(ii.) Further, in addition to the sayings already quoted, Resch has collected a number of others which exist now as parts of the Epistles, but are quoted by Patristic writers as from the Gospels, and sometimes attributed to our Lord. Thus (No. 14) the Apostolic Constitutions speak of our Lord as having commanded His apostles “to make disciples of all nations, and to baptize them *into His death*.” Here the connexion of baptism with the Lord’s death, which for us exists only as a comment of St. Paul’s (Rom. vi. 4) is attributed directly to the Lord.

In an exactly parallel way (No. 22), the Apostolic Constitutions and several of the Liturgies attribute to our Lord St. Paul’s comment on the other Sacrament (1 Cor. xi. 26): “As often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you show forth *my death, until I come*.”

Again (No. 32), Ephesians iii. 15, “Of whom is every family in heaven and on earth,” is attributed to the Lord by Clement of Alexandria, being quoted as His in connexion with St. Matthew xxiii. 9.

(No 33.) The command of Ephesians iv. 26, “Let not the sun go down upon your wrath,” is quoted by an anony-

mous writer (c. 300 A.D.) as given by "the Lord," and definitely "in a Gospel"; and in a *Life of S. Syncretica* (c. 370 A.D.) as a saying of the Saviour.

Similarly (No. 36a), "Grieve not the Holy Spirit which is in you" (= Eph. iv. 30), is cited in the *De Aleatoribus* as a warning of the Lord: while, lastly, the quotation from Proverbs iii. 24, "The Lord resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble," which is found in St. James iv. 6, is placed by Ephraem the Syrian as a saying of Christ, parallel with the text, "He that exalteth himself shall be humbled."

(iii.) There is yet one more stage in the argument. Some of these sayings are quoted in variant Greek forms, which seem to point to a Semitic original, of which they are independent translations. We have seen already that this is the case with the saying preserved in Acts xx. 35, which varies between the form "It is more blessed to give than to receive" and the form "The giver is more blessed than the receiver." And, to refer yet once more to No. 43, this is found with many minor variations, but in the main they follow two types, the one simpler, embodying the words of 1 Thessalonians v. 21; the other fuller, more elaborately working out the metaphor of banking. The one might be translated, "Show yourselves trustworthy bankers, holding fast the good, abstaining from every form of evil"; the other, "Show yourselves knowing money-changers, accepting the genuine, rejecting the counterfeit coin."

Such are the premisses, and certainly a possible conclusion to draw from them is that of Resch, that there was an early Semitic Gospel, containing sayings of our Lord, which have not been retained in the Canonical Four, and from which St. Paul and St. James have drawn, not always actually quoting from it, but adopting its language as language already known and current in the Church. But further, having from these facts inferred the existence of

such a Gospel, Resch ingeniously carries his argument one step further, and refers to it those few difficult passages in St. Paul and St. James, where they quote sayings of which it is very difficult to find the origin in the Old Testament. To this Gospel he would refer the following quotations:—

1 Cor. ii. 9. *As it is written*, Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not,

And which entered not into the heart of man,
Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love Him.¹

1 Cor. ix. 10. For our sake *it was written*: Because he that ploweth ought to plough in hope; and he that thresheth, to thresh in hope of partaking.

Eph. v. 14. Wherefore *He saith*: Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall shine upon thee.

St. James iv. 5. Think ye that *the Scripture* speaketh in vain? Doth the Spirit which He made to dwell in us long unto envying?

Such is the complete theory, and it must be admitted that it is in many ways attractive: it falls in with the tendency of synoptic criticism to postulate some previous written Semitic document or documents as their basis: it would strengthen the historical character of the records of our Lord's life by placing them at a period earlier than the Synoptists: and it would show that ideas which are characteristically Pauline, such as the universality of the Gospel and the abrogation of the Mosaic law, are not creations of his own, but are due to the Lord. But on the other hand it is hard to believe that so many sayings, if embodied in a document so early and authoritative, should not have been incorporated in our Gospels; nor can the theory be regarded as more than probable, considering that rival theories may sufficiently account for the facts.

¹ This explanation of 1 Corinthians ii. 9 is examined and rejected by Bishop Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, ii., p. 390. Some keen criticism of the details of Resch's theory will be found in Knowing, *The Witness of the Epistles*, pp. 105-132. (London, 1892.)

Thus it is possible that a sufficient explanation of the facts may be found in the far simpler theory of inaccuracy of quotation. It is absolutely necessary to take such inaccuracy into account, for, if we look once more at the facts of No. 43, we find that the saying "Show yourselves trustworthy money changers" is quoted, sometimes alone, sometimes in combination with 1 Thessalonians v. 21, *as St. Paul's* by Cyril of Alexandria, and by Dionysius (in Euseb., vii. 7).

Unless, then, we can postulate some inaccuracy of quotation, we should have to assume that the whole saying existed first in the lost Gospel, secondly in the Epistle to the Thessalonians, and that lastly the first half of it dropped entirely out of all MSS. of the Epistle.

It is extremely likely not only that phrases of St. Paul and St. James should have been loosely attributed to our Lord, but also that sayings of Jewish Rabbis, or extracts from Jewish manuals or prayers, should have been mistakenly assigned to Him. One such probable instance we have seen in Agraphon I. "That which thou hatest, thou shalt not do to another," probably originating in Tobit iv. 15. Bishop Lightfoot has shown that many phrases of the prayers used in the Jewish synagogue have influenced the earliest Liturgical language of the Christian Church, as found in the Letter of Clement of Rome (*Clem. Rom.*, I. 380-396), and this is probably, also, true of the forms of doxology in the Pastoral Epistles and in the Apocalypse. It seems to me probable that the list of moral duties, in Romans xii. 9-21, owes its ungrammatical structure, *i.e.* its quick interchange of participle, infinitive, and finite verb, to the fact that St. Paul is partly incorporating some previously existing manual. Inaccurate quotation, again, is the most probable explanation of the origin of most of the Mohammedan sayings.

But further, in the case of Christian writers the current

theory of inspiration, as due to the Spirit of the Lord, will help to explain the facts. The Apostles were regarded as owing their inspiration to the Lord; He was regarded as speaking through them. This principle is expressed in so many words by Clement of Alexandria: "Hence it is that the Holy Spirit in the Apostle, making use of the Lord's voice, says, 'I fed you with milk'" (*Pæd.*, i. 6, 49). Hence the statement that "the Lord said," when used with such passages as Ephesians iii. 15, iv. 26, 30, may never have been intended to convey any other meaning than that the Lord inspired the well-known words of St. Paul. Or, even more strangely still, a preacher's own expansion of a saying of the Lord might have been attributed to the Lord Himself. Thus, to take two Agrapha, not yet referred to, how natural it would be that No. 13, "Good things must come, but blessed is he through whom they come" (*τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται*), attributed to our Lord several times in the Clementine writings, should be a preacher's expansion of the correlative truth of St. Matthew xviii. 7. In the same way St. Matthew xxv. 35 may have given rise to No. 47. "For the sake of the weak, I was weak; for the sake of the hungry, I hungered; for the sake of the thirsty, I thirsted," attributed by Origen to Jesus.

A very good instance of the freedom which the Church felt it could allow itself in dealing with the Lord's words may be seen in the variations of the Lord's Prayer. Here, if anywhere, in a definite form of prayer originating with the Lord Himself and perpetuated by constant public usage, we might have expected one unchangeable type. But this is not so: even within the bounds of the New Testament, St. Matthew and St. Luke give us two forms showing considerable divergence, due partly to independent translation, but partly to adaptations of the prayer to the varying needs of a Jewish or a Gentile congregation, of a morning or an evening service. And when we pass outside

the assured text of the New Testament, we find considerable additions. The chief of these, the doxology, "probably derived ultimately from 1 Chronicles xxix. 11, but, it may be through the medium of some contemporary Jewish usage,"¹ won its way early into many texts of St. Matthew. Two other additions gained less acceptance, but there is evidence that as early as the second century a clause, "Let Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us," sometimes took the place of the first petition ("Hallowed be Thy name"), sometimes of the second ("Thy kingdom come"); while the evidence of St. Cyprian, Tertullian, St. Augustine and some MSS. of the Vulgate shows that the final clause "Lead us not into temptation" was frequently used in Latin Churches in the form "Do not suffer us to be led into temptation," and sometimes with the addition "such as we cannot endure." The first of these additions seems a liturgical one, for usage in some service in which the Holy Spirit was invoked; the second a teacher's explanation to avoid misunderstanding, incorporating in its fuller form a phrase of St. Paul's (1 Cor. x. 12) and treating it as a part of the Lord's own words.²

It remains only to consider the authority which we may reasonably assign to these non-canonical sayings; and it is obvious that no one single answer can be given to this question. As with ecclesiastical miracles, each has to be taken on its merits and must stand or fall by its attestation. But one clear line may be drawn: it seems fair to claim that such of these sayings as won their way into general acceptance in the current Church texts of the Gospels for many centuries have such strong attestation that we cannot hesitate to regard them as genuine. They may not have been parts of the original texts as written by the Evangelists,

¹ Westcott and Hort on St. Matt. vi. 13, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 9.

² These facts are taken from "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," by Rev. F. H. Chase (*Cambridge Texts and Studies*, I. 3).

but they were sayings which the Church would not let die, and so by degrees incorporated them into her Gospels and read them in her services. Seven instances of these were given at the commencement of the previous article. Of these, we have already dealt with the doxology of the Lord's Prayer. Of the rest, the additional clause in St. Mark ix. 29, "and fasting," is quoted as a saying of our Lord's as early as Tertullian, and is probably genuine, but in this case the expansion is so slight, and might so easily be made that I should at least hesitate to use the verse in controversy as a sanction for fasting. The addition in St. Mark ix. 49, "And every sacrifice shall be salted with salt," is an illustration of the previous words borrowed from the Levitical law (Lev. ii. 13), but it is possible that this might have been originally meant as only an illustration of the Lord's saying. The concluding section of St. Mark is pronounced by Westcott and Hort, who reject it from the text, "as a very early interpolation, early and widely diffused, and welcomed," so that it may be well accepted as authoritative.

The two additions in St. Luke are equally interesting and instructive. The clause in ix. 55, "ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of," is treated by Mr. Rendel Harris¹ as a Marcionite gloss to hint that the disciples were acting as though they belonged to the Just God rather than to the Good God; but this is very improbable: it has the ring of a genuine saying; it has early attestation; and is probably, as Westcott and Hort suggest, a true saying of the Lord "derived from some extraneous source, written or oral."

The great saying from the Cross, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (St. Luke xxiii. 34), is rejected from St. Luke by Westcott and Hort with the decided verdict, "We cannot doubt that it comes from an

¹ A study of *Codex Bezae*, p. 233.

extraneous source"; yet they are no less certain that that extraneous source may be trusted as embodying an actual fact; "Few verses bear in themselves a surer witness to the truth of what they record." The saying is attributed to our Lord by Irenæus: it seems presupposed in St. Peter's words in Acts iii. 17, in the dying speech of St. Stephen (Acts vii. 60), and in that of St. James the Lord's brother as given by Hegesippus. "I entreat thee, Lord God, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do" (Eusebius, ii. 23). And so, though textual criticism makes us hesitate to pronounce that St. Luke embodied them in the original form of his Gospel, we cannot doubt that they were spoken by the Lord, and spoken from the Cross, and that they have been introduced into the narrative at the right point.

This last assertion could not be made of the Pericope Adulteræ, the only further saying which has to be considered. There can be little doubt that this is not a part of St. John's Gospel; there can be little doubt also that it has not been introduced at the right point of the narrative, those scribes who introduced it at the end of St. Luke xxi. having chosen a more probable scene for the incident. But it is very probable that it is the story referred to by Eusebius as contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews and in the Expositions of Papias; that is to say, it must be as early as the first half of the second century, and there is no reason, intrinsic or external, why its account should not be accepted as historical.

Of the other sayings which have not won their way into general acceptance, we must speak more doubtfully. Many of them are probably genuine: perhaps none of them is so certain that it could be taken as the basis of any doctrine or controversial argument. Yet the majority of those which have come to us from Christian sources are a real

gain as illustrating the central teaching of the Lord, and expressing it often in a form which we cannot afford to lose. Taking the whole together, including those that have made good their footing in many MSS., we may say that they lie on the fringe of the Gospel narrative: they make it difficult to draw a line very sharply between that which is genuine and that which is not, between that which is canonical and that which is not. But a great painter has said that "there is no sharp outline in Nature," and we have learnt in many ways the difficulty of drawing a sharp line between the natural and the supernatural.

Yet this does not mean that we blur the difference.

The writer in the *Dictionary of the Bible* says of this very subject that "the distinction between sacred and secular was not clearly marked as it is with us—not so much that the sacred was secularised as *the secular was hallowed*."¹ There was a "touching of things common" till they rose to meet the spheres. So, to return to our metaphor, these sayings form a fringe round the Gospel narrative, but the fringe implies a garment well woven and strong, on to which it could be tacked. They are, as it were, in the twilight of revelation, but the twilight implies a real sunlight from which it is the fading away, and as we gaze into that sunlight a few things grow very clear. We see the Personality of one who spake as never man spake, a Personality to which his followers look upward as from below, a Personality whose words are sustained on a level which they could not have created, though it is so pervasive and inspiring that it draws them upward, so that just here and there we cannot be quite sure whether it is the Master speaking or the disciple. We see an historic outline embodying, however slightly, a life and character, which is consistent and rational and spiritual in a way which raises it above the level of legend into that of trustworthy his-

¹ *Dict. Bible*, s.v. Gospels, p. 1238 b.

torical fact. Whatever may be the processes that have moulded our Gospels, oral tradition, oral catechisings, written documents, compilation, or alterations of copyists—and probably they are all true theories—yet, after all, no one of the Gospels is the mosaic of a book-maker: each is the loving record of a living master, whose own spirit is felt in every chapter.

And we see a Church, so confident of the Living Personality of its Founder, so sure of the historic background of His life, that it can pick and choose among many records and authoritatively decide that a certain four are the truest representation of it, and yet it can rise even above the text of these as they first were published and boldly incorporate with them sayings and historic fragments like the end of St. Mark or the Pericope Adulteræ, of which other writers or merely oral tradition were at first the authority, and decide that they too are true, and worthy to be read in its services “to the end of time.”

WALTER LOCK.

*PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES
RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND AU-
THORITY OF THE MOSAIC BOOKS.*

II. THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

REFERENCE has been made in the preceding article to the following points:

1. That no Hebrew writer down to the time of Solomon, or perhaps even to that of the introduction of Greek literature into the East, could have had so ample means for writing the early history of the world as those possessed by Moses, when regarded as a Hebrew imbued with the culture of the great civilised Egypt of the nineteenth dynasty.

2. That at this period the Egyptians were most zealous in the preservation of historical facts, and were in possession of vast stores of information available for historical literature.

3. That it is in every way probable that there existed, up to the time of Moses, ancient documents of Hebrew history, extending from the time when Abraham departed from the, at that time, learned and literary region of Chaldea, and that such documents were probably more accessible in the time of Moses than at any later period.

4. That the crisis of the affairs of Israel in the time of Moses demanded just such a compendium of the history of the race as is found in Genesis; and that such a book was a necessary factor in the history of the Exodus and the subsequent events.

5. That the personality of Moses, as developed in the following history, testifies to a truthful portraiture, which could not have been produced by obscure writers living at a later date.

6. That Genesis thus stands appropriately at the birth of the Israelitish nation, and is related to it in the manner of cause and effect, while there is no other period in the history of the chosen people to which it would have been so suitable.

Centering these considerations in the personality of Moses, we have found a natural adaptation to time and place, and a congruity of the literature with the actual history which afford strong evidence of contemporaneity and truthfulness. We may now proceed to consider the materials of Genesis, and the manner in which they were used on the supposition that Moses was the author or editor of the book.

The book of Genesis relates altogether to time anterior to that of Moses. This lapse of time may be divided into three periods of very unequal length, which are treated in

somewhat different ways, though these are subordinate to the continuous and homogeneous character of the history, which, beginning with matters relating to mankind in general, gradually and by successive stages concentrates itself on the interests of Israel alone.

The first portion relates to the Creation, the antediluvian world, and the deluge. It has no connection with Egypt or Palestine, and, in so far as it has any local colouring, this belongs to that Euphratean region from which the father of the faithful is alleged to have emigrated.

The second part extends from the call of Abraham to the time of Joseph, and is early Palestinean in its geographical and historical relations. In these respects it is even more primitive than the time of Moses, and if not based on contemporary documents must have been written by some one having a rare gift of throwing his vision back into times anterior to his own. In so far as Moses is concerned, it is not likely that he had previous knowledge of Palestine, but he must have been familiar with Egyptian literature relating to it, and he must often have met with people of Canaan, and with Egyptian officers who had travelled in the country. He must, therefore, have possessed sufficient knowledge to edit documents relating to Palestine, and to understand the geographical and tribal relations with which such historical documents were concerned.

The third portion of the book, relating to Jacob and Joseph, is almost wholly Egyptian in its scenery and colouring, and its conditions must have been perfectly familiar to Moses, even if, as supposed by many, the administration of Joseph was under one of the foreign kings of the Hyksos race. The treatment of this part of Genesis bespeaks a writer thoroughly acquainted with the Egypt of the 18th and 19th dynasties.

The first of these three sections covers a vast lapse of time—three thousand years, or probably more, of human history,

besides the unmeasured geological periods before man appeared. The second and third extend over only the 430 years which, according to the Hebrew chronology, intervened between the entry of Abraham into Canaan and the Exodus.

If these three portions of Genesis were compiled by Moses from documents of various dates, the greater part of this material must have been obtained from Hebrew rather than from Egyptian sources. No doubt the Heptarchy of the Great Gods of Egypt is analogous to the seven creative days, and may have been so understood in the esoteric learning of the Egyptian priests. There can be little doubt also that the Hershesu, or mythical children of Horus, represent the antediluvian patriarchs of Moses and the Chaldean legends. Not improbably, also, there may have been Egyptian narratives of the visit of Abraham and his tribe, of the immigration of Jacob, and of the rule of Joseph. There must, however, have been records of the Abrahamidæ themselves ; and Egyptian precedents would authorise us to believe that such documents would be scrupulously cared for, and would, probably, be deposited with the mummy of Joseph, either in some tribal tomb or sanctuary, or in the house of his descendants.

Supposing such materials to be accessible to Moses, and that it was part of his Divine mission to use them for the instruction and deliverance of his people, we should suppose that his treatment of the different documents might be somewhat varied.

In the case of the first and second sections, the material might consist in part of definite and specially arranged statements of great antiquity, like these of the creation and the deluge, in part of toledoth, or genealogical lists, and in part of biographical and historical annals.

The two former classes of material a conscientious editor would leave untouched, except perhaps to add a few ex-

planatory notes or to modernise archaic expressions. The third or narrative material he might treat with a freer hand, and might even re-write in the style of his own time. We should thus have, in the earlier parts of Genesis, a two-fold structure, consisting, in the first place, of ancient documents, written, perhaps, by different hands, at widely different times, and, secondly, the modernised and freer biographical and historical sketches interwoven with the older material, though perhaps occasionally including sections of older documents unchanged. It is thus quite unnecessary to imagine any later editor than Moses, in order to account for those diversities of style and treatment which have caused critics to postulate several authors and redactors.

Since writing the above, I have found this aspect of the case very clearly stated by Prof. Green, of Princeton.

He says :

"The difference of diction in different sections of the Pentateuch is largely to be accounted for by the diversity of theme or of the character of the composition. The critics claim that what they call the document P is clearly distinguishable from J E in point of language. Now, to P they assign genealogies, dates, legal sections, and such grand, world-wide events as the creation and the deluge; but, as a rule, all narratives in the sphere of individual life are given to J E, only mere snatches from them, such as a few disjointed sentences or summary paragraphs, being allowed to P. It is obvious that a division of this sort must necessarily result in a diversity of diction. Words are signs of thought, and where the lines of thought are distinct so must the diction be. Words and phrases in constant use in ordinary narrative have no place in genealogies and ritual laws; and, *vice versa*, the peculiarity of the diction of the former is not to be expected in the latter."

This is simply common sense and natural probability, and it goes farther than the contention above, since it shows that even if there were no previous documents, differences might be expected between technical lists and detailed biographies. I quote it also to show that some writers on

these subjects think it worth while to descend from the pinnacle of the higher criticism and to inquire as to those probabilities which arise from the constitution of mind and its implements.

The latter part of Genesis, relating to the closing years of the life of Jacob and to that of Joseph, we may suppose to be wholly of Mosaic authorship, and in the best style of the Hebrew prophet, unless indeed he found ready to his hand a version of this beautiful story written by Joseph himself, or by some pious and able scribe under his direction. Either view would suffice to account for the minute acquaintance with Egyptian manners and customs at the date referred to, and the literary similarity of the style to that of Egyptian writers of the period; and which, by a far-fetched and most improbable conjecture, have been supposed to have furnished later writers with the materials of this marvellous history.

This later portion of the book is separated from the earlier by the introduction of the Edomites in chapter xxxvi., which forms a sort of appendix to the previous history, and may have been brought on partly because the Edomites were the most closely related of the other Hebrew races to the Israelites, because they had at this time very intimate relations with Egypt, and because they had already definitely separated themselves from Israel and had become a part of the heathen world. We shall see in the sequel that the neglect of this genealogy, and the failure to recognise the fact that the Edomites and other nations descended from Abraham and Lot were Hebrews as well as the Israelites, has led some Egyptologists into amusing errors. All those tribes which sprang from "Abraham the Hebrew" were Hebrews or "Aperiu" in the classification of the Egyptians, who well knew their kinship in features, language, and customs, as a part of the multitudinous Asiatic races known as "Amu" in their ethnology.

These preliminaries having been settled, we are now in a position to glance at some of the physical and archæological characteristics of the earlier part of Genesis. Some of the peculiarities of the earliest Mosaic document, that of the seven creative days, I have already discussed in an article in this journal,¹ to which I may refer, but our present inquiry leads us to consider certain of its other features.

The theological purpose of the first chapter of Genesis is too obvious to require any remark, except to note the thorough manner in which it relegates to the creative power of the one true God all the natural powers and objects which entered into the complicated polytheism of Egypt and other ancient nations, and the skill with which it founds this on the unanswerable proposition that the universe is not eternal or fortuitous or self-made, but a product of a divine First Cause. To secure fully, however, this theological end, it was necessary to deal with physical facts and laws, and with an order of development of the cosmos, which is here divided into seven stages, the last of these being used as the foundation of the Sabbath. So exactly does this arrangement fit in with the requirements of that fourth commandment which lies at the foundation of the whole religion of Israel, as based on the hope of a Redeemer, and which consequently figures as the sole ritual observance included in the moral law, that it is not wonderful that some have alleged that the seven creative days are an after-thought intended to support the observance of the Sabbath. Fortunately for the credit of Moses, we now know that the story of creation and the week of seven days, and the pre-eminence of the seventh day, existed long before his time. It is not Egypt but Chaldea, the native country of Abraham, that has furnished this evidence in the now well-known creation tablets disinterred from the ruins of the royal library of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria. They show that

¹ EXPOSITOR, vol. iii., April, 1896, p. 284.

in the most primitive times a story of creation similar to that in Genesis, but more diffuse and polytheistic in its theology, existed in Chaldea. It is thus rendered in the highest degree probable that this legend in some form was a part of the mental furniture of Abraham and his tribe, before they left their primitive home. Assurbanipal, the royal collector of these records, it is true, lived about 673 B.C., but the scribe who edited them informs us that they are of much earlier date, and not so much Assyrian as early Chaldean, or Akkadian, being probably as old as 1,600 years before the time of the Assyrian collector.

A remarkable confirmation of their antiquity also reaches us from the West. The sacred book of the Quiche Indians of Central America, originally translated by Brasseur de Bourbourg, and more recently referred to by Bancroft in his *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*,¹ contains a creation legend in many respects similar to that of Chaldea. It would thus seem that in the early dawn of human history before the people of Asia and those of America had separated, the history of creation was known.

In face of such facts, it is idle to suppose that the knowledge of the creative week came to the Jews from late intercourse with Assyria. In that case it would have appeared in a different form, even if purified of its polytheism; for the later Assyrians, though they had a week of seven days, and regarded the seventh day as sacred in the sense of being an unlucky day for secular work, do not seem to have connected this with the creation, so much as with the sun and moon and the five planets known to them, as our own Saxon forefathers also did.

If, again, we compare the simple and sublime form in which the creative days appear in Genesis, with the more turgid and diffuse guise in which they are embodied in the Chaldean or Akkadian tablets, we need not doubt as to the

¹ Vol. iii.

relative antiquity of their sources. We can imagine a simple, concise, monotheistic account to have been the nucleus of the padded out polytheistic story like that of the Chaldean priests. We can also imagine a terse rhythmical version easily committed to memory to have appertained to simple primitive folk, while an enlarged and ornate form may have been better suited to a temple liturgy in honour of a pantheon of deities. We can also suppose a simple record of creation to have been communicated perhaps in a vision of six days to some inspired seer of early times, but cannot suppose this in the case of a complicated and idolatrous version.

Further, the Chaldean tablets bear witness to their own secondary character, for while they take us back to a time when Tiamat, the abyss or "deep," alone existed, they admit that at this time "the gods had not sprung up any one of them," and "the great gods also were made." These gods also are elemental beings, corresponding to the firmament, the stars and other things which appear merely as physical objects in Genesis. Bel or Belus seems to be the only exception, and to be a sort of demiurgus, the medium between the Creator and His work, and corresponding to the Almighty Word in Genesis.

Thus we have as the result of this comparison, that while we must recognise the Hebrew account as the more primitive of the two, we must also recognise it as the better and more scientific. On arriving at such a conclusion we can scarcely avoid a feeling of awe and reverence for this early monument at once of human reason and Divine revelation.

I do not think it necessary to discuss the question whether or not the days of creation represent long periods of time, since it is only on that supposition that they admit of any comparison with natural facts, or would even in any natural sense be comprehensible in themselves. Further,

these are obviously days not of man, nor even astronomical days, but days of God, and the last, or seventh day, is allowed to run on indefinitely without any termination. This view is also held by Jesus in the Gospels, when in arguing with the Jews about the Sabbath He says, "My Father worketh until now." It is also the view of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, when He speaks of man's failure to enter into God's Sabbath, of Christ's entering into His sabbatism, and of that sabbatism which "remaineth for the people of God." It is thus evident that Jesus, the Jews of His time, and the early Christians had no difficulty in believing that the creative days represent æons or days of God, and this, of course, without any idea of reconciliation with modern science.

We have now to look at this old record from the purely physical standpoint, and to inquire as to its representation of the actual development of the earth and its inhabitants. This may be best done by translating its terms into those now in use, and regarding it as a series of word-pictures, not so much of successive stages of the earth, as of successive introduction of new features, the old arrangements still continuing except as modified by the new.

Its initial statement that in the beginning Elohim created the heavens and the earth requires no formal proof. The universe cannot have been eternal or self-created. It must have proceeded from a self-existent First Cause. But in the beginning the earth was formless and void, enveloped in a dense vaporous mass and in thick darkness. It contains the resulting cosmos only potentially not actually. This must be developed in the work of the creative week.

1. Light is introduced either from a photosphere surrounding the earth itself, or from diffused luminous matter filling the space within the earth's orbit—possibly from both.

2. The laws regulating the suspension of clouds in the

atmosphere, and the preservation of a clear aerial film between the waters above and those below, are established.

3. The earth's crust is ridged up to form embryo continents. This earliest dry land becomes clothed with the first vegetation.

4. The heavenly bodies become distinct by the concentration of light around the sun. These bodies are not gods, but (relatively to man) merely time-measurers.

5. The waters are stocked with the lower forms of animal life, and this is succeeded by the dominance of reptiles and birds in the air and on the waters.

6. The mammals became dominant, more especially on the land, and finally man is introduced.

We have here a consistent scheme of the development of the solar system, and especially of the earth, agreeing in the main with the results of modern astronomy and geology. It would not be easy even now to construct a statement of the development of the world in popular terms so concise and so accurate.

It has been objected that light is introduced before the sun; but on any of the hypotheses of the origin of the solar system this is probable. It has been objected that land plants are introduced before animals, yet this is in itself likely; and I have elsewhere shown that there are geological evidences of an earthly archæan vegetation yet unknown in its details.¹ The translation of the word *Tanninim* as "whales" or "monsters" has obscured a distinct reference to the reign of reptiles, by the use of a word which elsewhere in the Bible is applied only to the crocodile and the larger serpents. Objection has even been made to the omission to mention the earliest marsupial mammals, which appeared in the reign of reptiles; but we are to look here for great leading features, not for special mention of creatures in their time insignificant. We might as well object

¹ *Geological History of Plants.*

to there being no special notice of batrachians, or of wingless as distinguished from winged birds. Besides, it has been remarked that in Leviticus small mammals are included with reptiles in the same general terms. These and similar objections proceed from trusting to merely negative evidence or misinterpreting words. When rightly understood they leave our early seer, and the Egyptian graduate who edits his words, on a much higher mental plane than that of their modern critics.

Over against these objections we may place certain grand dominant principles and facts, in which this early record is in harmony with all the true science and philosophy that the world has ever known.

We have here a grand conception of the unity of nature, and of the interdependence of all its parts as a continuous work of an Almighty Power. In the physical world the light, the ocean, the atmosphere, the dry land, even the distant luminaries of heaven are all parts of one system. In the world of life the plant and the animal are linked together, and all the forms of animal life, from the lowest to the highest, constitute one series, including predaceous and carnivorous beasts as well as those that are harmless; and finally man crowns the series, with full recognition on the one hand of his affinity with the animal world, and on the other of the national mind, which enables him to understand and rule nature, and hold communion with God Himself. With all this there is no myth or superstition connected with any natural object, no sign of fetichism or idolatry, or of any merely astrological use of the heavenly bodies, such as we might have expected in the later and more corrupt times of the Eastern world.

Our old record also anticipates in some of its aspects the Nebular Theory. It recognises the distinction of light from luminaries, even from the great sun himself, who thus ceases to be a deity and becomes a mere work of the

Creator. It knows the constitution of the atmosphere, and that balancing of the clouds over a clear stratum of air which involves so many complex arrangements. It knows that the land arose out of the primeval ocean; that plant life on the land must precede that of the animal, even by a long time; that the lower animals of the waters antedate those of the land—the mammals and man closing the list. It thus informs us of successive reigns of invertebrates of reptiles, of mammals, and of man; and in the whole appear design and development combined.

There is, further, in the Genesis record an entire absence of any local colouring—nothing to connect it with the features or population of any special region. In this wholly cosmical and general style it differs from the Chaldean Genesis, and from anything in later Hebrew literature, even from the poetical version of the same history which appears in the 104th Psalm.

No distinction appears here of any varieties or races of men, of any grades of higher and lower tribes, of any autochthones as distinguished from strangers. In this the record is not in the tone either of Chaldea or of Egypt, and is also eminently diverse from later Jewish habits of thought. This unity and equality of man stamps the document as a Divine revelation, or at least as pertaining to a time antecedent to such distinctions, which even in the days of Moses, and indeed long before, were engraved on the mind of every nation, and against which Paul had long afterwards to argue before the cultivated Athenians, to whom the unity of man seemed a strange novelty. Considered even as a mere editor, it would require a man of the breadth of culture and strong moral sense of Moses not to be tempted to tamper with such a document, and to adapt it to the notions of his own and succeeding times.

Lastly, in the wonderful development of the cosmos there is no distinction of good and evil powers in nature, of things

clean and unclean, noxious or healthful. All things are parts of the system of the All-wise, and all are in their places very good. But beyond this it has one great practical and humanly theological conception, and this is the idea of rest. God finished His work and entered into His rest, and invites man to enter into it with Him. This idea is not so much that of a mere weekly Sabbath as that of a perennial rest, into which man enters as the possessor of a complete and finished world in which everything is good. This is no doubt the foundation on which the obligation of the weekly Sabbath ultimately rests; but here it appears in its broadest and grandest form as a cosmic day of rest in which man is to enjoy all that in previous æons has been prepared for him. It is the true and perfect picture of the primitive golden age, which has imprinted itself on the imagination of every generation of man. The special human history which begins in the second chapter of Genesis, and which has so absurdly been supposed to be a duplicate and even contradictory version of this, starts from the same point, though with a local aspect, but soon introduces us to that tragedy which for a time deprived man of this primitive rest, which, however, "still remaineth" for the people of God.

All these peculiarities of the introduction to Genesis, while they tend to throw its composition back into the dim antiquity of our race, and to separate it from all special religions, even from that of the Israelites themselves in later times, fit it to be the foundation of all religion, and the companion of all science, and endear it to every mind instinct with the love of nature. We are never weary of it. Like the songs of childhood, it is ever fresh, and we return to it with joy as an oasis of peace into which the turmoil of human passion can never enter—the very garden of the Lord.

May we not believe that we owe this precious document to the hand of the great Hebrew sage and prophet, and that

it was the foundation of the teaching whereby, under God, he changed a nation of slaves, deeply sunk in degradation and idolatry, into a free, independent, and God-fearing people?

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

"HE CALLED" OR "SHE CALLED"?

MATT. I. 25.

THE EXPOSITOR published lately a learned discussion "On the Proper Rendering of *ἐκάθισεν* of John xix. 13." While almost all commentators had taken it in the intransitive sense, "*he sat himself*," and did not even think of the possibility of taking it transitive, "and sat Him," or, when it was brought to their consideration by the new evidence brought forward for it, they declined it, and will, no doubt, for the most part do so, even after Prof. A. Roberts' defence of it; so it is, perhaps, the case with the similar question: whether *καὶ ἐκάλεσεν*, Matt. i. 25, must be rendered "and *he* called," or "and *she* called." I may be permitted to lay it before the readers of the EXPOSITOR, the more so as it is a contribution to the most important question of the Aramaic Gospel lately ventilated in these pages.

While reading, the other day, in the *Syriac New Testament*, I was struck, for the first time for myself, by the observation, that this version reads: *וְקָרָא שְׁמֵהּ יֵשׁוּעַ*—*i.e.*, "and *she* called His name Jesus." I have no sufficient private or public library at my disposal to ascertain, when and where this was noticed for the first time, and how many or how few have taken notice of it in recent times. In Tischendorf's *editio octava*, it is passed over, as also in James Murdock's *literal translation* from the Syriac Peshitto Version (sixth edition, Boston [1893]), where the verse is given: "And he knew her not, until she had borne her first-born son, and called His name Jesus."

That Gutbier already, 1663, and the Broxbourne edition of the Syriac Gospels and Acts of 1815 had noted it, I found afterwards; it may, however, do no harm to call fresh attention to it.

Going a little closer into the matter, I found, firstly, that not only the Vulgate Syriac Version, the Peshitto, reads so, but even the older one, the *Curetonian*, as also does the third, the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*. The fourth, the *Philoxeniana*, is not at my disposal, and I should be thankful to hear how this Revised Version of the Syrians gives the verse. Secondly, I found an apparently unimportant variation in the Greek text between Tischendorf and Westcott-Hort. Tischendorf prints—

καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν,
καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.

Westcott-Hort, besides that they put οὗ into brackets, have a *colon* after υἱόν, instead of the simple comma of Tischendorf. It is clear, at first sight, that the *colon* is *much better*. It gives to the detached sentence and its important fact, which is in no immediate connection with the preceding οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν, its due weight. I think it is a fair specimen of the great care bestowed on the Revised Version, that there also the , of the Authorized Version was changed into : "till she had brought forth a son : and he called His name Jesus."

But it is clear, when we put a comma only, we have but the possibility of translating "and he knew her not . . . and he called"; if, on the other hand, we put a colon, already in the Greek text the possibility opens of rendering :

"And *he* called," or "and *she* called."

It is, further, clear, why so few thought of this second possibility, and those who did so declined it. For do we not expressly read immediately before our verse (20, 21),

Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς Δαυεὶδ μὴ φοβηθῆς, etc., τέξεται δὲ υἱόν, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν? (Notice again, by the by, the difference here in the interpunction. Tischendorf has a comma after υἱόν, Westcott-Hort no interpunction at all; the Authorized Version punctuates like Tischendorf, the Revised has a semi-colon;). There can be, it seems, not the least doubt. But there are already some Greek and Latin manuscripts which, in v. 21, instead of the second person, καλέσεις, *vocabis*, give the third, καλέσει, *vocabit*. It is true, these MSS. are few and late, and according to all critical principles, καλέσεις must be considered as the true reading of the Greek text. But *when we retranslate this Greek text into the Semitic original*, which we may presuppose for the Gospel—whether it be Aramaic or Hebrew, makes scarcely any difference in our case—how does it run? Take the Syriac Bible:

ܕܠܝܕܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ

or put it in Hebrew:

יִלְד בֶּן וְתִקְרָא אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יֵשׁוּעַ

How is this to be translated? It may be just as well, "she will bring forth a son and *she* will call him," or "thou shalt call him." Nay, I am sure, every native Syrian, who is reading his Syriac Bible, *not knowing the Greek text*, will understand it in the former way, "*she* will call him," and it is a token of deficient care, that no edition, of which I know—neither that of Gutbier nor the Broxbourne nor Murdock—calls attention to this twofold possibility.

I think it is now clear why the Syriac versions in v. 25 so unanimously put "and *she* called"; they took already in v. 21 the verb, which in Semitic affords the double meaning, in the same sense, "and *she* will call Him." ¹

¹ Barhebraeus, the great commentator among the Syrians, remarks to this [ܕܠܝܕܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ] ܐܝܢ i.e. thou Joseph, and adds that Luke reads, thou Mariam.

Now rises the question: Did the original gospel contain this wording? and is our present Greek a mistranslation? I do not dare to speak definitely; at all events, it is very interesting to see that, according to Luke i. 31, the name is to be given *by Mary*, and that in Luke ii. 21 the *passive* is chosen, ἐκλήθη. By this supposition a little difference between the first and the third Gospels would disappear: and thus, not only in the third, but also in the first, the name would be given by the mother, to whom in most places of the O.T. the giving of the name is attributed. On the other hand, does it fit the position of Joseph, as the husband of Mary, if he is addressed: Joseph, thou son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife . . . she shall bring forth a son and (she) shall call His name Jesus?

There may be reasons adduced for both alternatives, and it would be interesting to hear them.

It must still be added, that the ambiguity which lies in the Semitic Imperfect נִקְרָא, נִקְרָא, disappears, when καὶ καλέσεις is given, as is done in the modern Hebrew versions of Delitzsch and Salkinson by the perfect with ו consecutive. In this case, there can be no doubt in *vowelled* Hebrew, נִקְרָא. But, by a very strange coincidence indeed, in *unvowelled* Hebrew quite the same ambiguity arises; cf. Isaiah vii. 14 (Targum, Septuagint and the Commentaries). It is, however, very questionable whether in New Testament times the perfect with vav consecutive was still used in the same way as in older Hebrew. But this leads into questions which are beyond the range of this paper and demand a master in Hebrew tenses like Driver. It will be sufficient for me to have directed fresh attention to a question which, minute as it is, is not void of interest.

EBERHARD NESTLE.

THE PREMIER IDEAS OF JESUS.

II. AGELESS LIFE.

JESUS reigns supreme among teachers not only by the perfection of His character but also by the grandeur of His subject. A prophet has many things to say to his generation; one is his message. Jesus treated every idea of the first order in the sphere of Religion; His burden was Life. He did not set Himself to teach men how to organize the state, nor how to analyze their minds, nor how to discharge elementary duties, nor how to form a science of Theology. This was not because Jesus despised these departments, it was because He proposed to dominate them. He would not localize Himself in one because He would inspire all. Behind the state is the individual, behind the individual is the soul, and the one question of the soul is life. The soul is the organ, and life the function; and although exact scholars may be horrified, the translators of our Bible had hold of the facts of the case when they used *ψυχή* generously, rendering it in one verse "life" and in the next "soul" (St. Matt. xvi. 25, 26). Ethical life implies the soul, and a dead soul is a contradiction in terms. The chief necessity of man is life, and when Jesus opened its spring He fertilized human nature to its farthest border. He was not a Politician, but the Democracy is His creation; He was not a Philosopher, but He has given us the modern metaphysic; He was not a Moralist, but He has inspired the coming ethic; He was not a Theologian, but the creeds are built out of His teaching. He revived the body of humanity by the regeneration of the individual. Before Jesus, life was a wistful longing: it was also a hopeless mystery. With the thinkers of one nation it was a speculation, as in the Phædo: with the saints of another it was a vision, as in the sixteenth Psalm. Jesus brought life to light and declared the doctrine of immortality. History

acknowledges Him as the first and last authority on the biology of the soul, and experience has proved Him to be the only medium of life. Life was the gift Jesus carried in His hand ; as He said, in His magnificent way, " I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly " (St. John x. 10).

An instinct is any part of our spiritual capital which has not been contributed by education or revelation, and our two chief instincts are God and immortality. The hope of the future life has always nestled in the heart of the race, and found wings upon occasion. When savages bury his weapons and utensils with the dead man in order that he may start with a full equipment, they believe that he is somewhere ; and when the Athenians went out to Eleusis twice a year, in March as the life of the year springs, and in September as it fades, and held a solemn function, it was not only that they might live happily, but, as Cicero puts it, " die with a fairer hope." The Eleusinian mysteries must have been a great support to the pious of the day, and served the purpose of a conference for the deepening of spiritual life. This instinct dies down to the root in the winter of Agnosticism, but it never loses its vitality. Clever people point out that no one can demonstrate immortality, which goes without saying, and high-minded people condemn the desire for continued individuality as a subtle form of selfishness, which is very superior. There may be an insignificant minority who would be content that their life should be flung back like a cupful of water into the stream from which it was taken. But to the race the destruction of this hope would be irreparable, since it is laden with a wealth of compensation and reparation. Mourners are content because those " loved long since " are only " lost awhile." St. Stephen, cut off in his youth, does not complain because he sees Jesus standing at God's right hand. The scholar gathers his apparatus for unending work.

What's time ? Leave Now for dogs, and apes ;
Man has Forever."

Arthur, betrayed and beaten, does not despair :

" My God, Thou hast forgotten me in my death " ;
" Nay, God my Christ, I pass, but shall not die."

This sublime instinct Jesus found and did not belittle. He confirmed it with His sanction and built on it His doctrine of Ageless Life.

It was not Jesus' function to add to our nature, it was His to glorify it, and in His hands the instinct of immortality was raised to its highest power. Jesus began with a tacit distinction between existence and life which gives a characteristic lift and splendour to His words. Existence is physical, and is dependent on the energy that works in matter. Life is spiritual, and is dependent on the energy that works in mind. One comes upon a person that has not one point of contact with the thought-world : he eats, digests, moves,—we say he exists. One comes on another full of ideas, plans, dreams, ambitions,—we say he is alive. It is the approximate statement of a fact in human history. When the former dies we are not astonished, because it had never struck us that he was alive. When the latter dies we are shocked, the disappearance of that radiant man is a catastrophe. Jesus recognised similar conditions in the spiritual world—existence which meant an inert and unconscious soul, and life which meant a soul receptive and active. Mere existence He called death, and used to startle men into thinking with paradoxes : " Let the dead bury their dead " (St. Luke ix. 60) ; " Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour is coming and now is when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live " (St. John v. 25). Whether Jesus believed in the continued existence of this lowest grade in the human kingdom can hardly be disputed when a soul eaten up by selfishness like Dives, and a soul purified by trial like

Lazarus, both reappear in another world. Jesus assumed existence for all, but existence on this low plane of death was not worth His consideration. Jesus was not an authority on existence, His field was life. He did not labour the barren theory of conscious immortality apart from the condition of the soul: but He transforms immortality into Life by charging immortality with an ethical content and making it to consist in the knowledge of God: "This is Life Eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent" (St. John xvii. 3).

When Jesus invested Life with its new meaning He glorified the idea, but He was embarrassed with the word. Words were polarized before Jesus adopted them, and they were apt to retain their acquired properties in His Kingdom. Nothing could have done full justice to the ideas of Jesus save a new language, and, as that was impossible, Jesus and His disciples were often at cross purposes. With Him Life was something eternal and absolute; with them, something limited and temporary. Life suggested nothing to them at first, except the vitality of the body; death, nothing except its dissolution. Jesus, on His part, never used Life and Death in a physical sense with emphasis, unless when He spoke of laying down His own Life, and no one knows what was hidden in that mystery. "I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again" (St. John x. 18). He reserved the words for their highest use, and ignored the popular reading. "Our friend Lazarus," He said, with careful choice of terms, "sleepeth; but I go, that I may awake him out of sleep" (St. John xi. 11). Lazarus, the brother of Mary, and the friend of Jesus, could not be dead. It was a moral impossibility. The Jews who saw Jesus at Lazarus' tomb and played the informer to the Pharisees were dead. It was a moral necessity. When the misunderstanding was hopeless Jesus had to condescend.

"Lazarus," if I must speak in your tongue, "is dead" (St. John xi. 14). Physical death Jesus refused to recognise; it was an incident in the history of Life. Death was a calamity of the soul, and a living soul was invulnerable. "I am the Resurrection and the Life: he that believeth in Me, though He were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth, and believeth in Me, shall never die" (St. John xi. 25, 26). It was a brave struggle for reality, and liberated the first disciples from the bondage of the physical; but the atmosphere is too rare for His modern disciples, and most speak exactly as if they were Pagans in the Street of Tombs at Athens, instead of Christians who had sat at Jesus' feet.

Jesus had to contend with a more inexcusable misuse which binds up the life of a man, not with his body, but with his material environment. According to this squalid definition, Life is made up of circumstances; if they are pleasant, the man has an easy life; if they are adverse, he has a hard life. Life is stated in terms of food and raiment, and goods and houses. Against this degradation of life Jesus lifted up His voice in a protest which admits no answer. He was never weary of reminding His disciples that such things could not constitute Life, and were, indeed, so unworthy as to be beneath care. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth" (St. Luke xii. 15). "Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" (St. Matt. vi. 25). "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you" (St. John vi. 27). Certainly this indifference to circumstances was not due to any want of sympathy with the labouring and heavy laden—witness His parables, or to the favoured experiences of His own life

—witness His poverty. But Jesus was anxious to lift Life above the tyranny of circumstances and convince His followers that one could live like God Himself, although he had a whole world arrayed against him and left nothing behind except a peasant's garment. And Jesus was jealous lest they should confound the rough scaffolding of circumstances, within which the building was slowly rising, with the Temple of Life itself.

Jesus has bequeathed to the world a Monograph on Life (St. John vi.), and its basal idea is Unity. Spiritual Life is not a series of isolated springs, but an ocean laving every shore. It is one and has its source in God, as Truth and Righteousness and Love are one and stand in God. When one thinks of Life in man as one thing, and Life in God as another, he has lost the key to the science of Life. Nothing deserves the name of Life in us that cannot be affirmed of God. Life in the soul is the tide of the Divine ocean flowing as it has opportunity, through the narrow channels of human nature. Everything else is only a colourable imitation of Life, and a mode of existence. Life is in its origin Heavenly, and cometh down. One must be "born from above" if he is to enter into Life. Jesus casts His contrast between physical and spiritual Life into a felicitous figure. "Your fathers did eat manna in the wilderness, and are dead. This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die" (vi. 49-50). Life is first in God who is in Heaven, inaccessible, and next in Jesus who is incarnate, and finally in any man who is in fellowship with Jesus. "As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me" (vi. 57). This is Jesus' theory of Life.

The second idea which underlies this discourse is Community. Jesus and His disciples share the same Life. He is the "Bread of Life," and they "eat." Jesus with this

startling image flashes a description of Life and answers the question, ever in the background of one's mind, "What is Life?" It is fellowship with the Spirit of Jesus, something that cannot be estimated by the beating of the pulse, or the inventory of a man's possessions, that must be tested by conscience and the intangible scales of the Kingdom of Heaven. It will lie in a certain mind, in a certain ruling motive, in a certain trend of character, in a certain obedience of will, in a certain passion for goodness, the same as that of Jesus. Or, as Jesus put it in a passage misunderstood too often by Jews and Gentiles, yet simple enough when read according to the mode of Jesus' thinking, "Whoso eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, hath eternal life" (vi. 54). This is Jesus' practice of Life.

The third idea which inspires the deliverance of Jesus is Eternity. Again and again, with heartening reiteration, Jesus pronounces Life "everlasting," and Jesus' expression is evidently shaped by a contrast. It is His appreciation of Life; it is His depreciation of its travesty. There is, He means, what may be called life by concession, which consists in health, and riches, and ease, and pleasure. This is life centred, and imprisoned, and satisfied in this present age. Its environment is local and temporary, and when it is shattered this life must perish, because it has no roots elsewhere. With its age it vanishes. He that findeth this life shall lose it. Life, as Jesus understood it, consisting of Love and Sacrifice, does not belong to any age because it is the inhabitant of all. Its roots are struck into the unchanging and eternal. It has already a spiritual environment, and when this present state of things is removed Life will rise to its full height and find itself at home. This is Life which cannot be lost. Life to-day, it would have been Life when the Pyramids were new, it will be Life when the earth is an ice-cold ball. Life is contemporaneous with all the centuries, it anticipates and closes them. "Time

is a parenthesis in eternity," says a fine old classic. When an earth-born man is baptized into the Spirit of Jesus the brackets are removed and he begins to live in the ageless state. "He that believeth on Me hath ageless Life" (vi. 47). This is Jesus' prophecy of life.

Life with Jesus was a condition of the soul disentangled from any physical mode of existence, and with this profound conception before His mind, He did not need the classical arguments for immortality. One would be surprised if Jesus proved the future life from the analogies of nature or the law of continuity. One would be as much surprised if He described its circumstances even in the sublime poetry of St. John or followed the soul in its experiences as in the "Book of the Dead." For one moment we do wonder why Jesus did not describe at length the details of the unseen state, who, alone of all men in this world, had been within the veil; in the next we understand such an apocalypse would have been alien to Jesus. Life before His eyes was not divided into sections, each depending for its character on local colouring. Life here and there—everywhere—in its essence and intention, must be the same—conformity to the Divine Will—an inward peace and joy. As a man lived here in this age, he would live in all the ages; carrying Heaven within him rather than going into Heaven. The Life of the soul could not be affected by the death of the body. Jesus would have considered the question, "Shall I live after death?" beside the mark. He would have asked, "Have you Life now?" for Life is ageless.

If one insist on proof that Life is ageless, then Jesus was content to offer Himself. Life hinges on this word of Jesus. "Because I live, ye shall live also" (St. John xiv. 19). Suppose Jesus was the victim of a fond delusion when He ignored the death of the body and preached the ageless life of the soul and insisted on the unseen, then He is dead.

"And on His grave with shining eyes
The Syrian stars look down."

Suppose He knew, when He declared Life the supreme fact of human experience, and death the escape of the butterfly from the chrysalis and the world a passing show, then Jesus is alive evermore. How can one be certain that Jesus is with God? It is a question of the last importance. There are four lines of proof. The first is to lead reliable evidence that Jesus rose from Joseph's tomb—this is for a lawyer. The second is historical—the existence of the Christian Church—this is for a scholar. The third is mystical—the experience of Christians—this is for a saint. The fourth is ethical—the nature of Jesus' life—this is for everyone. The last is the most akin to the mind of Jesus, who was accustomed to insist on the self-evidencing power of His life. He is alive, because He could not die. "I am the Resurrection and the Life" (St. John xi. 25).

It is impossible to appreciate a picture with your face at the canvas; but even His blind generation were arrested by Jesus. There was a note in His words that caught their ear, the echo of Divine authority; there was an air about Him, the manner of a larger world. No man could convince Him of sin, none confound Him. He was ever beyond criticism. He ever compelled admiration in honest men. "Thou art the Christ," said a Jewish peasant with instinctive conviction, "the Son of the Living God" (St. Matt. xvi. 16). Centuries have only confirmed this spontaneous tribute to Jesus' life. No one has yet discovered the word Jesus ought not to have said, none suggested the better word He might have said. No action of His has shocked our moral sense; none has fallen short of the ideal. He is full of surprises, but they are all the surprises of perfection. You are never amazed, one day by His greatness, the next by His littleness. You are ever amazed that He is incomparably better than you

could have expected. He is tender without being weak, strong without being coarse, lowly without being servile. He has conviction without intolerance, enthusiasm without fanaticism, holiness without Pharisaism ; passion without prejudice. This Man alone never made a false step, never struck a jarring note. His life alone moved on those high levels where local limitations are transcended and the absolute Law of Moral Beauty prevails. It was life at its highest. Jesus was the supreme Artist in Life, and had a right to say, " I am the Life " (St. John xvi. 6).

Was this Life something that could be quenched by death or that death could touch? Granted that they scourged and crucified Jesus' body, that it died and was buried. Could Jesus who gave the Sermon on the Mount and the Discourse of the Upper Room, who satisfied St. John and loosed St. Mary Magdalene from her sin, and who remains the unapproachable ideal of perfection, be annihilated by a few nails and the thrust of a Roman spear? If the lowest form of energy, however it may be transformed or degraded, be still conserved in some shape and place, can any one believe that the Author of Life in this world was extinguished on a Roman cross? The certainty of Jesus' Resurrection does not rest in the last issue on His isolated appearances during the forty days ; it rests on His Life for thirty-three years. His Life was beyond the reach of death ; it was Ageless Life.

Jesus' Life impressed His generation as unparalleled and inexplicable, a Life with inscrutable motives and incalculable principles. What was its explanation according to any known standard? Jesus was accustomed frankly to admit that it had none ; that it was an enigma from the earthly standpoint. But He pled that it was supreme and reasonable from the Heavenly standpoint. It was foreign here ; it was natural elsewhere. He did the works He had seen His Father do, He said the words He had

received of His Father, He fulfilled the will of His Father. There was a sphere where His Life was the rule, where His dialect was the language of the country and His was the habit of living. His unlikeness to this world implies His likeness to another world. One evening you find among the reeds of your lake an unknown bird, whose broad breast and powerful pinions are not meant for this inland scene. It is resting midway between two oceans, and by to-morrow will have gone. Does not that bird prove the ocean it left, does it not prove the ocean whither it has flown? "Jesus, knowing . . . that He was come from God and went to God," is the Revelation and Confirmation of Ageless Life.

JOHN WATSON.

A REPLY TO MR. CHASE.

II.

ON the preliminary part of this discussion, viz. the question whether the South-Galatian theory is grammatically possible, enough probably has been said; and we now enter on the real subject, viz., Is that theory right or wrong? Perhaps it might seem better to have dispensed with the preliminary part altogether, and begun at once to the main question; but, in answering any critic,¹ I have always met him on his own ground. Now Mr. Chase chose this method of attack, and pressed home the charge of grammatical impossibility in reiterated assertions. It seemed to me that a reply was imperatively required, and that it must be immediate; and there was naturally very little time be-

¹ In this case I spent some time in trying more than one device to avoid the necessity. Mere pressure of college work, besides other reasons, p. 45, counselled silence. Only the fortnight's vacation at Christmas has made the following series possible.

tween the arrival of the advance sheets for December, and the closing of the January number of the EXPOSITOR.

I must begin by an expression of apology to Mr. Chase on two points, where I fear I have been uncharitable to him. In my former article, p. 44, the words "deliberate error" are liable to misconstruction, as a friend points out. I meant only to distinguish the case where Mr. Chase weighs the right and the wrong interpretation against each other, preferring what I consider the wrong one, from the case where he reads one particle, forgetting entirely the existence of another; and I did not dream of the construction that he chose the wrong interpretation because it suited him. I regret much to have used words that have a harsh and unfair appearance.¹

The second is more serious. On p. 59 I have to retract what is said about the Authorised Version. It translates a text which Mr. Chase expressly notices, and which takes away any slight relevancy that there was in my remarks. It may be added that I went to our University Library to look up old texts of *Acts*, and to see whether there was any discrepancy of reading that affected the sense: but I was foolishly content with looking up some comparatively recent texts, which I thought were old enough to satisfy my object. Such are the mistakes which one makes in a subject where one is not a specialist. I have taken my life in my hand and ventured among the critics, fully recognising, as I said, that "I want the sureness of touch which long familiarity with the subject alone can give," and that I am almost certain to trip occasionally. Had I the oppor-

¹ Another friend, whose opinion I count one of my safest guides, objects to a note on p. 56, and I regret the form it has. It was a hasty and ill-considered addition, made after I had forgot the plan of that paragraph, which was to insist on the possibility of two different interpretations of *μεν οὐν*, reserving for the sequel the discussion as to which was the better. I may add that the discussion on this point is purely academic; the South-Galatian theory is as easy with one as with the other view. Mr. Chase is quite in error when he says (p. 403) that the sequence of clauses is fatal to my view.

tunity of appealing oftener to Dr. Sanday's ever ready and ever certain help, I should be safer. For the statements on this point I therefore apologise to Mr. Chase and to the reader.¹

It will be noticed that the section in question contains no argument that bears on the Galatian question, but was introduced merely to relieve my feelings on account of Mr. Chase's accusation that I had failed in the "care and accuracy that are incumbent on a scholar, especially when addressing himself to a popular audience." I still think that it would have been better if Mr. Chase had confined himself to setting forth what he considered to be my errors of intellect and scholarship; on that ground I can meet him with perfect equanimity and, I trust, good temper. But I must confess that I am apt to grow warm when accused of inability to feel and practise (for, as the Turks say, the two are one) the first essentials of scientific investigation. The accusation is so easy to make, and so hard to refute! Nor can it advance in any way what ought to be Mr. Chase's real object, viz., the disproof of the "South-Galatian theory."

I have also been unjust to Weiss in saying, p. 55 n., that he perhaps agrees with Mr. Chase about *μὲν οὖν* in xvi. 5. He says, on the contrary, that *μὲν οὖν*, *fügt noch eine andere nachträgliche Bemerkung über den Erfolg dieser Durchreise* (v. 4) *an*. I transferred to this place his note on ix. 31. I must therefore apologise also for the note on p. 57. Weiss has not forgotten the particle; he merely differs from some scholars as to whether it occurs in ix. 31.

¹ I have inadvertently given the impression that I admitted Mr. Chase's assertion that I was "pressed by a grammatical argument." On the contrary, I shall in due course proceed to show that the South-Galatian theory is perfectly consistent with taking *καλυθέτες* in xvi. 6 as giving the reason for *διῆλθον*; and several friends, who accept or regard favourably the theory, prefer to take it in that way; but I shall also set forth the reasons that lead me to prefer the interpretation given in my book.

It is quite justifiable to doubt whether or not the compound participle is used in ix. 31 or in xvi. 5; it is quite unjustifiable to assert, as Mr. Chase does, that there can be no question. Mr. Chase has a perfect right to differ from me, but he has not proved his right to deny the *possibility* of my opinion.

As I have already said (see pp. 43, 45), Mr. Chase is right to assume the place of a critic. It is a proceeding most laudable and salutary to criticise keenly, and even severely, a theory on any historical point, especially on one of special importance and of wide interest; but it is a very different thing to declare that the theorist offends in the foundations of his theory against "the elementary laws of Greek grammar." Such an accusation is justifiable only in very extreme cases of incapacity, and requires to be supported by great accuracy and completeness in the steps of the criticism. As Mr. Chase has not confined himself to arguing against my theory, but has, with ingenuous frankness, made very plain his opinion that I am unfit to understand the meaning of "luminously clear" passages of Greek, he will grant that it is both fair and necessary for me occasionally to bring out what is the precise value of his opinion on points of scholarship. My book is founded from beginning to end on careful consideration of delicate shades of meaning of the Greek or Latin authorities, and I am therefore bound to show that his opinion is untrustworthy.

Hitherto, in opposition to Mr. Chase's confident declaration that my opinion on the Galatians is "shipwrecked on the rock of Greek grammar," I have confined myself to proving that the theory gives a possible and justifiable interpretation of the passages on which it is founded, and that it has the right, which Mr. Chase absolutely denied it, to be considered. I shall now go further, and take up in succession every point he has criticised, and examine

with minute and microscopic care the passages of *Acts* on which he has touched; and, if the editor permits me, I feel confident that before long one or other of the rival theories as to the Galatians will be dead. In vindicating the right of my theory to be heard, I invoked the authority of other scholars, who had agreed in one point or another with my interpretations; for their agreement was, in itself, a justification of the right. For the future, I shall make less use of authority, as I intend now to attack Mr. Chase's position; and such an attack must be made by reasoned argument, not by appeal to any authority, however high. It will also be out of place, in arguing that my theory is right and his theory wrong, to use the same tone that seems suitable in asserting my right to get a hearing. Against such a summary ejection from court, as Mr. Chase proposed to inflict, the strongest protest is the best. I have a *locus standi* in this case, and confidently claim it. But now, assuming that I have a place, I shall leave to the reader's judgment my reasons in defence of my position.

I do not defend all my old arguments. When I wrote the book, the scales were only beginning to fall from my eyes, and I did not see the full meaning and consequences of the theory I was supporting. Some things were said wrongly, many things inadequately, others not said at all. But I feel more strongly than before that I was standing on the right foundation, and that my position is unshaken, though I have been in the second and third editions casting away some of the encumbrances that hindered the clear exposition of my thesis.

VIII. It will, perhaps, be allowed, even by Mr. Chase, that I have already succeeded in establishing the admissibility of Lightfoot's view, that *Φρυγίαν* in xvi. 6, *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, is an adjective. But I shall now attempt to show that Lightfoot, Page, Weiss, and Bishop Jacobson are right in saying that it *must* be taken

as an adjective.¹ Mr. Chase has not made it quite clear whether he intends to maintain that classical Greek writers would use *Φρυγίαν* in this way as a noun, or merely holds that this individual author (Luke, as he and I are agreed) was so incorrect in expression and grammar as to use a form which classical Greek language would never permit. His confident belief that *Φρυγίαν* must be a noun, p. 406, and his unhesitating assertion that "according to the ordinary rules of Greek grammar," the passage is "luminously clear," would suggest that he intends to maintain the former of these two alternatives. Now, if one of Mr. Chase's pupils at college had ever ventured to put before him a Greek prose exercise, in which the English phrase "the father and the good boy," was rendered *τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀγαθὸν παῖδα*, or "Scythia and the province of Thrace" was rendered *τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ Θρακικὴν ἐπαρχίαν*, Mr. Chase would, I believe, have made short work with him, and ordered him to repeat the article in both cases, and, if he defended himself by supposed analogies, would gently but firmly have exposed his error in every case that he brought forward. I feel so sure that Mr. Chase is scholar enough to take this course, that I conclude that he merely "wrote the paragraphs hastily" (p. 411), and did not fully realize what, in his eagerness to dispose of me, he was committing himself to. Until he actually asserts that he fully meant this extreme statement, I cannot believe that he was more than hasty and incautious in language.

We, therefore, must take the other alternative. Mr. Chase, we suppose, holds that we must, in this case,

¹ Bishop Hervey, on the other hand, emphatically agrees with Mr. Chase; his argument is remarkable: "Phrygia is always a noun substantive, and cannot here be taken as an adjective belonging to *χώρα*." In English, Phrygia is always a noun, but a glance at any suitable dictionary will show that *Φρυγία* in Greek is frequently an adjective. [A passage in *Ælian, Epist. penult.*, is quoted by Stephanus as *τῇ Φρυγίᾳ καὶ Θράκῃ* (the pair of slaves, Phrygia and Thracia); but the texts of Aldus, Gesner, and Hercher, all have *τῇ Φρυγίᾳ τε καὶ τῇ Θράκῃ*.]

conclude that Luke, a late writer in a period which classical scholars call degenerate, used a form of expression which classical Greek would disown, but which, as analogy and surroundings prove, can have no other meaning than that which Mr. Chase assigns to it.¹ The case then depends on analogies from other passages in the author, and on arguments from the circumstances in which the action lay. As to the latter, we are simply in the old position, discussing which of two theories is right; and if Mr. Chase had from the first confined himself to that position, he would have been perfectly justifiable and prudent. The question between the two theories is open ground, full of interest, void of offence and hard judgments, and wide enough for him and me and a host of other disputants.

As to the analogies by which we can determine what *Luke* would be likely to write, I have already shown that Mr. Chase has found only one, *Luke* iii. 1; and that it not only is susceptible of being understood in the way Lightfoot quoted it, but also, when so understood, avoids a linguistic anachronism (viz. the use of a noun *Ἰτροπᾶ*) to which Mr. Chase would expose it. I shall now give reasons for the view that *Luke* iii. 1 cannot be understood as Mr. Chase understands it, and must be understood as Lightfoot took it.

IX. In discussing this difficult passage, I was unconsciously touching upon one of the oft discussed "inaccuracies" of Luke. For example, Holtzmann, in his *Hand-Commentar* to the Synoptic Gospels, p. 58, after enumerating the districts which Josephus assigns to Philip's government, proceeds to point out that Luke is in error when he mentions among them *Ituræa* in addition to

¹ In that case Mr. Chase will see that he must cut out his statements about "the ordinary rules of Greek grammar," and that in common honesty he is bound to apologise to the *manes* of Lightfoot, and to Mr. Page (whom also he quotes).

Trachonitis;¹ and he suggests that the origin of Luke's error lies in an anachronism, viz., that Luke attributes to the time of Philip the arrangement of territory which existed afterwards under Agrippa. It is clear, then, that Holtzmann, like Mr. Chase, takes *Ἰτρουπαίας* in Luke iii. 1 as a noun, attributing to that author an utter disregard of the rules of Greek expression as observed by the older classical authors; and, if the result were to bring Luke into accordance with historical fact and with contemporary usage of geographical terms, one might regard favourably the interpretation, and conclude that Luke wrote degenerate Greek, and did not observe the old accurate rules of expression. But why should Mr. Chase insist with such emphasis that Luke must have spoken in that way, merely with the result of thrusting an inaccuracy on him? That is hard to understand. From his article one would infer that Mr. Chase has a sincere admiration for Luke, and would rather be inclined to discover in him proofs of historical accuracy, so far as he conscientiously could. Yet here he makes him write bad grammar, and consequently bad history.

It must be observed that, to make good my defence, it is not necessary for me to prove that Luke's history and geography were both right in this phrase. I do, indeed, think that something can be said, and has been already said in part, in favour of his accuracy in both respects, if my interpretation is followed; whereas it is generally allowed that his statement is indefensible on the interpretation followed by Dr. Holtzmann and Mr. Chase. But even if he were partly wrong on my interpretation, he would still be saved from some of the worst faults which the other interpretation forces on him. Further, even if he is wrong in identifying the Ituræan with the Trachonitic country, he

¹ Auf einem Irrthum beruht es daher schon, wenn Lucas neben Trachonitis noch Ituræa nennt.

has at least the company and the emphatic confirmation of Eusebius, bishop of the neighbouring city of Cæsarea,¹ who was a native, educated in the country, and a first-class authority.

It would be a quite fair and justifiable position that Luke wrote good Greek and accurate history, siding with Eusebius as to the geography of Syria, and did not write bad Greek and false history, siding with Mr. Chase in the geographical question.

I shall, however, not confine myself to this safe ground; but go on to argue that Luke is right even as to geography. In short, the charge of inaccuracy against this excellent historian is founded here on bad translation and buttressed by bad geography.

In writing the notes on the Ituræan country in my last article, I used only the ancient writers and those modern authorities whom I quoted by name. Being compelled to write very hurriedly in order to be in time for the first issue of the EXPOSITOR after Mr. Chase's article appeared, I did not think of looking into Prof. E. Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*; but I now observe that he has examined the point minutely in his second edition, vol. i., p. 593f., and that he arrives at a very different conclusion from me. I am sorry once more to have, unintentionally, come into collision with Dr. Schürer; but I find myself unconvinced by his arguments and unable to recede from my position. In the first place, as to the name of the country, Dr. Schürer, while he is for the most part careful and accurate, sometimes uses Ituræa as a proper regional name,² and quotes prominently, p. 594,

¹ Euseb., *Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 298 : Τραχωνίτις χώρα ἢ καὶ Ἰτρούπαλα. I quote from Schürer, as explained below, not having access to the original. I also assume that Schürer is right in taking the work as genuine.

² This is almost confined to the heading of the chapter: in the text Dr. Schürer is precise and accurate throughout, speaking everywhere of the country

n. 2, from Appian, *Civ.* v. 7, τὴν Ἰτουραίων. I do not know what edition of Appian he uses; but the one which lies before me (Didot, Paris, 1840) confirms my statement that Appian uses only the words τὴν Ἰτουραίων, and I feel inclined to suspect, either that there is a misprint in Dr. Schürer's note, or that, having in his mind the idea of the country, he has here misquoted. None of the other passages which he quotes contain the regional name Ituræa, till we come down to the fourth century, when we find the doubtful language of Epiphanius (quoted already by me), and a phrase of Eusebius (which escaped me), *Onomast.*, p. 268, Ἰτουραία ἢ καὶ Τραχωνίτις. I may, therefore, fairly claim that Dr. Schürer's exhaustive learning (combined with a few additional references quoted by me), places beyond doubt my accuracy in saying that a regional name Ituræa was unknown till the fourth century; and that those who interpret Luke as using that name force an anachronism on him.

In the second place, as to the relation between, the Ituræan country and Trachonitis, Dr. Schürer argues that they were distinct and separate countries, at a considerable distance from one another. But he admits that Eusebius expressly and positively identifies them in two passages.

For my own part, I have always gone on the principle that a distinct and positive statement by a competent witness like Eusebius, familiar with the country, cannot be set aside by such an elaborate chain of comparison and inference from inferior authorities as Dr. Schürer relies on. Even, if I could trace no flaw in his reasoning, I should distrust his authorities; but I cannot accept all his reasoning. Without troubling the readers of the *EXPOSITOR* too much with this geographical question, let me point

out¹ that Dr. Schürer is not very consistent and clear in his argument, for he begins by saying that, while Christian theologians try to put the Ituræans as close as possible to Trachonitis (on account of *Luke* iii. 1), and Eusebius has even identified them, "all historical evidence points in the most distinct way to Lebanon";² yet immediately after this he goes on to say that the Ituræans must certainly be looked for in Anti-Lebanon.³ But Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon are as distinct as Taurus and Anti-Taurus, almost as distinct as the Alps and the Northern Apennines. Between them lies the great plain called Coele-Syria. Dr. Schürer does not of course mean that the Ituræans inhabited Coele-Syria. He has, therefore, committed himself to one of two alternatives. Either he holds that the Ituræans lived in two separate tribes, one inhabiting Lebanon, and the other Anti-Lebanon; or when he admits that some of the historical evidence points to Anti-Lebanon, he contradicts his own previous statement that all the historical evidence points most precisely to Lebanon. To me it appears that the best evidence points to Anti-Lebanon;⁴ and that Trachonitis is the rough hilly land extending back to the south and south-east from Anti-Lebanon. This country, including Anti-Lebanon, was the

¹ Dr. Schürer objected in very strong terms to my procedure in my *Church in the Empire*, pp. 13-15, where I disagreed from him without giving reasons. I believe, therefore, that he would prefer that I should indicate even briefly my reasons in the present case.

² Aber alle historischen Zeugnisse weisen auf's bestimmteste nach dem Libanon, p. 595.

³ Da die Ituræer öfters mit den Arabern zusammen genannt werden, so sind sie wohl in dem die Marsyasebene im Osten begrenzenden Gebirgszuge, d. h. im Antilibanos zu suchen, *ib.*

⁴ The strongest evidence for Lebanon is found in a Venetian inscription, once considered a forgery, but now justified against all possible scepticism, *adversus Ituræos in Libano monte* (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, iv. p. 537). But there is not the slightest difficulty in supposing that the framers of the inscription in honour of this Roman official had no care for accurate distinction between *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*. In the long controversy as to the authenticity of this inscription Boyle and Lewin took the right side.

home of the Ituræans, and, if so, Eusebius and Luke are fully justified. In fact, Dr. Schürer himself, in another place, vol. i. p. 354, comes so close to this view that I can only wonder why he does not carry it out consistently. He says that the statement of Luke is *nicht ganz unrichtig*, for the district Panias towards the source of the Jordan formerly belonged to the state of the Ituræans. Now Josephus expressly asserts that Philip governed Panias. I would only propose to modify Dr. Schürer's expression a very little, and read *die Angabe des Lukas ist ganz richtig*, when it is rightly translated. The Ituræans inhabited a wide district, Anti-Lebanon and the Trachonitic Plateau (in part or in whole) stretching back from it towards Arabia; Philip governed the Ituræan country, viz. that part which was included in the Trachonitic plateau.¹ Similarly Paul traversed the Phrygian country, viz. that part which was included in the Galatic country. In proportion as Mr. Chase's parallel would have been strong against me if he had been right in his translation, so it is strong in my favour when properly understood.

Prof. Rendel Harris points out to me that the Peshito version gives the countries separately, "Ituræa and the region of Trachon." The Syriac translator, as we can well imagine, was not so good a Greek scholar as Eusebius, while he was not, as Eusebius was, a native of Palestine

¹ It deserves notice also that, whereas Dr. Schürer claims that the frequent references to the rugged and mountainous nature of the country inhabited by the Ituræans confirm his identification of Ituræa with Lebanon, these references suit equally well with Eusebius's view that Ituræa was Trachonitis, for Trachonitis means "the rugged stony tract or plateau." As I have already said, Strabo's description seems clear in favour of Eusebius and against Dr. Schürer, who tries in vain to explain Strabo in his own favour. The close connexion implied by Strabo between the Ituræans and the Arabians is, as Dr. Schürer himself seems to recognise, inconsistent with a situation in Lebanon, and demands a situation in Anti-Lebanon and Trachonitis. [I leave to others better informed than I am the question whether Trachon and Trachonitis are absolutely identical, or whether some partial distinction can be drawn between them, one being wider than the other; also the task of indicating more accurately the bounds of the Ituræan country.]

and familiar with Trachonitis. Accordingly he fell into the same enticing error that so many of the modern critics have given way to.¹

W. M. RAMSAY.

SURVEY OF RECENT BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

INTRODUCTION.—To the department of Introduction several notable contributions have recently been made. Probably that to which readers will turn with the most eager expectation is Prof. Sanday's Bampton Lectures on *Inspiration* (Longmans, Green & Co.). It will doubtless disappoint some to find that in this volume there is no full and thorough dogmatic treatment of this important and difficult theme: but, as the sub-title warns us, the volume contains "Eight Lectures on the *Early History and Origin of the Doctrine of Biblical Inspiration*." This leads Prof. Sanday to enquire into the character and reception of the books of the Old and New Testaments, and much of the material which he adduces in connection with the New Testament Canon is valuable. Indeed, the chief value of the volume will be found not in any final conclusions arrived at, but in the prominence given to facts and ideas which have not received sufficient attention. A good deal of hesitation and uncertainty appears in the treatment of certain points, and this may be referred to the writer's characteristic caution and fairness. Sometimes, however, greater exactness would have been desirable and could have been arrived at. To say that "the authority of the Bible is derived from what is commonly called its inspiration" is rather a loosely stated axiom to lay as the foundation of a book; and it might be thought to indicate some uncertainty both as to the source of authority and as to the test of canonicity. His uncertainty regarding 2 Peter is wise, although the similarity he finds between

¹ But on this point a friend says that, from a comparison of the Peshito and the Curetonian fragment, he infers that the oldest Syriac version must have agreed with my translation. *Cur.* has "in the district (*athro*) of Ituræa and in the region (*côr*) of Tracono"; *Pesh.* "in Ituræa and in the district (*athro*) of Tracono." These look like two modifications of a primitive form "in the district Ituræa and Trachonitis," the changes being made in order to bring "district" close to "Trachonitis" as in the Greek.

its style and that of the Apocalypse of Peter must remain to most eyes invisible. To affirm that the "favourite" name for gospels in the second century was *Logia* does not suggest Prof. Sanday's usual accuracy. And the arguments he adduces against the early date of James are by no means convincing. But the most unsatisfactory part of the book is that in which Prof. Sanday professes to reply to Harnack's argument to prove the inferior position of the Pauline Epistles during the later part of the second century. His statement that Harnack brings forward "two arguments in particular" is sure to mislead unwary readers as to the formidable array of evidence actually brought forward: and his answer to the argument from the reply of the Scillitan martyrs, although resting on what is no doubt the correct translation, is not satisfactory.

The value of this volume is, however, great. It accomplishes its purpose of exhibiting the real root of the doctrine of inspiration; and, in doing so, Prof. Sanday, with characteristic candour lays his finger on the phenomena of Scripture, such as Paul's faulty logic and violent temper, which seem inconsistent with the ascription of direct and commanding Divine influence. He discusses with care and insight and reverence our Lord's attitude towards the Old Testament, and in this connection there is much urged which demands full consideration. Besides this, Prof. Sanday's treatment of the origin and reception of the New Testament books abounds in fruitful suggestions and in recondite but needful information.

On the same subjects as Prof. Sanday's lectures, Dr. James Macgregor, of Oamaru, has issued a volume entitled *The Revelation and the Record* (T. & T. Clark). It forms a part of an apologetic series in process of publication by the author. In some respects no living man is better equipped for such a task than Dr. Macgregor. He is amazingly acute, and irrepressibly witty, an able and well-read theologian, and a formidable controversialist. But he despises his opponents too much, and has too little sympathy with doubt to be the most effective apologist. He has not, apparently, troubled himself to read up modern investigations on the subject of the Canon, and has thus needlessly put himself at a great disadvantage. Nevertheless this is not a book to pass over, and the careful reader will be rewarded by finding some new ideas and some old ideas very powerfully stated.

The first volume of Prof. Godet's *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, containing the Epistles of St. Paul, has been published by Attinger Frères, of Neuchâtel. This introduction is sure to win its way in this country. It is learned and scholarly; it has been written with the aid of the most recent investigations in this department of study, and it publishes conclusions which have been tested and re-tested through a long life of familiarity with the subject. It is conservative but never obscurantist; and as the reader finds difficulties freely stated and fairly handled, he feels secure that he is not seeing only one side of the subject. It is, moreover, excellently written. Fuller notice and more detailed criticism will be given when the book is complete. Meanwhile it is enough to note that this volume contains a history of criticism and a life of St. Paul as well as an introduction to his Epistles.

In *What think ye of the Gospels*, the Rev. J. J. Halcombe (T. & T. Clark), continues to urge his view that the Fourth Gospel was really written first, then Matthew, Mark, and Luke in this order. There can be no denying the courage of a man who thus undertakes single-handed to turn the tide of criticism, which has been flowing in one direction for a century. His book is not likely to make many converts.

In publishing a volume of *Biblical Essays* by the late Bishop of Durham, the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund have earned the gratitude of all interested in the Bible. Only about a third of the volume has previously appeared, and this only in journals not universally accessible; the remainder is printed from lecture-notes, so that we have virtually a new volume of over 450 pages from the learned pen which has already done so much to illuminate the New Testament period. The subjects here dealt with are also of the kind to which he had given most attention. The first half of the volume is occupied with a fresh and valuable examination of the internal and external evidences for the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. The paper on the internal evidence appeared in this Magazine, but that on the external evidence appears for the first time, and is very complete and arranged with the business-like accuracy of the Cambridge scholar. The second half of the volume discusses various matters connected with the Epistles of Paul. Dr. Lightfoot had hoped to continue his series of commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, and had amassed considerable material for the fulfilment of this purpose; but when Dr.

Hort examined it he found that it was impossible to publish any complete commentary, and it was therefore decided to gather into one volume such of the prolegomena as it was possible to publish, "reserving for another volume selections from commentaries on the text which appeared to be fullest and most valuable." The former of these volumes is now published, and we have in it four essays on the Thessalonians, two on the Pastoral Epistles, and others on Romans, Corinthians, and Ephesians. These all exhibit the learning and scholarship, the fairness and sound critical faculty, which have given to all Bishop Lightfoot's works so wide and permanent an influence. This posthumous volume will take rank with the best of its author's work, and the loving care which the editors have spent upon it leaves nothing to be desired.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. publish an extremely handy *Greek-English Lexicon to the New Testament*, by W. J. Hickie, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is small in size, but it is accurate. Mr. Hickie gives evidence of having consulted the best authorities. Pape and Thayer are constantly referred to, and a reference to Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum* at a suitable point is enough to show that Mr. Hickie has studied his New Testament with care, and knows where to go for authoritative guidance. Reference is also made throughout to the various readings and to the Revised Version. Occasionally a word or two of justification of the meaning chosen, or in explanation of the growth of a secondary meaning, might be useful; and it would certainly be useful to mark the quantity in words about which a beginner may naturally be in doubt. But it is the handiest and most accurate small lexicon in the market.

In *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* Mr. Frederic Henry Chase, B.D., Principal of the Clergy Training School, Cambridge, proves himself to be no unworthy successor of the great textual critics who have in recent years added lustre to his University. The task he has set himself is one of importance and difficulty. Mr. Rendel Harris, in his fascinating study of the Codex Bezae, expounded his belief that many of the peculiar readings of that MS. were explained by supposing that a Latin version had influenced the text. He perceived that a Syriac version had also to some extent been a factor in producing some of the readings. Mr. Chase is of opinion that the Syriac influence has been much more constant than Mr. Harris supposed. His

investigations also led him to the conclusion that the version which had influenced the Codex under examination was Old Syriac in contradistinction to the Vulgate Syriac. These conclusions Mr. Chase establishes by a detailed examination of the peculiar readings furnished by the Codex in the Book of Acts. Syriac experts may possibly take exception to some of the details adduced, but it does not seem likely that the general conclusions will be shaken. In many instances the hypothesis of a Syriac version lying at the basis of the Bezan text at once renders intelligible a reading which without this had been obscure or even grotesque.

The importance of this investigation is not confined to the ascertainment of the value of a single MS. It has important bearings on the history of the second century and on the origin of the "Western" text. That the Bezan text of the Acts existed at least as early as 180 A.D., and that the implied Syriac text existed shortly after, "perhaps even some time before," the middle of the second century, Mr. Chase demonstrates with the skill of an expert. He further shows that it is extremely probable that the birthplace of this text was Antioch, where a Syriac-speaking and a Greek-speaking population met. Textual critics will probably be most interested in Mr. Chase's deductions regarding the origin of the "Western" text of the New Testament, deductions which are at all events sufficiently sound to offer a new starting point for the more fruitful study of this text. The bearing of the Codex Bezae upon the genuineness of the closing paragraph of the Gospel of Mark is lucidly pointed out by Mr. Chase. This much disputed paragraph was accepted as part of the gospel at Antioch before the middle of the second century, but even so there are considerations which prevent us, as Mr. Chase shows, from at once concluding the genuineness of this section.

Mr. Armitage Robinson continues his useful and interesting series of "Texts and Studies." The present issue, the concluding number of the second volume, contains *Apocrypha Anecdota*, by Montague Rhodes James, M.A. (Cambridge University Press). To many readers this will prove the most attractive part of the series. It puts in our hands thirteen apocryphal books or fragments, now first edited from MSS. These vary in length, in importance, and in interest. Some of the fragments contain only a few lines, others extend to twenty or thirty pages. Some are of a

date so recent as the ninth century, while others go back as far as the third century. Mr. James does not give the public credit for any very keen interest in the popular Christian literature of those remote and somewhat unenlightened ages. "It is plain to be seen that most of the books are very badly written, some of them very savage and horrible, all of them most obviously unhistorical. But ought we not to be alive to the interest they possess as being the products of human minds? To me there is real pathos in the crude attempts of these ignorant or perverted souls to tell their friends or their disciples what—to be feared or hoped for—lies in the unseen future or on the other side of the grave. But if the pathos is obscured to many readers by the crude fancy or the barbarous language, not many will deny that these books possess considerable historical value." It is to be hoped that Mr. James will find that he has underrated the intelligence even of this too rapidly moving age. The historical student will perhaps find greatest spoil in these relics of popular literature, and will by their help be enabled more truly to construct Christian life in the early middle ages. But the theological inquirer will also find in these Apocrypha a sure guide to the popular beliefs. He will find that salvation by works was accepted in a manner which would scarcely have been allowed by the Apostle Paul; that men had reverential thoughts of God's forbearance; that all sins were believed to be forgiven on repentance, and that the thought of a judgment to come was used as a powerful motive to righteousness. The linguist will find valuable illustration of some Neo-Greek forms, as well as of the peculiar spelling of Latin words: as *aput* and *set* for *apud* and *sed*. The aspirate too is used with the freedom familiar to spoken English, *hab* and *hunus* appearing for *ab* and *unus*, while *hæc* figures as *æc*. Especially interesting are these books as precursors of Dante's great poem. A vision of heaven and hell has evidently been a favourite form of literature from the first. And there is wonderfully little in these first attempts which strikes one as grotesque or revolting, especially when the risky nature of the subject is considered. One of the writers is bold enough to trace the flight of the soul from the body, and although one scarcely expects a third century romancer to rival Newman's *Gerontius*, the very attempt seems commendable and suggestive. Much light too is reflected on the condition of morality by the specification of the sins which were appropriately punished in hell,

and of the virtues which met with reward. The editing of this useful volume leaves nothing to be desired, unless it be some fuller information regarding the origin, the date, and authorship of the fragments and books. Another volume of similar documents will be welcomed by many.

The Akhmim Fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter has already been given to the public in several forms, but is at length issued in what may be accepted as a final and authoritative edition by Prof. Swete, of Cambridge (Macmillan & Co.). The interesting fragment was found some six or seven years ago by the French Archæological Mission in Egypt. It was discovered where it had probably lain for a thousand years, in a Christian grave at Akhmim, a considerable town on the east bank of the Nile. From notices in early writers it was known that a "Gospel of St. Peter" existed, and M. Bouriant identified the newly discovered fragment with a portion of that Gospel. It was never extensively circulated, and was recognised as apocryphal by writers of discernment. In style and character it resembles the Apocrypha of the second century, and, according to Dr. Swete, "it has a note of comparative simplicity and sobriety which is wanting in apocryphal writings of a later date." While orthodox in its general tone, Dr. Swete agrees with other critics in thinking that a Docetic tendency is discernible in its describing our Lord as undergoing a painless crucifixion, and assuming after His resurrection supernatural proportions. The special form of Docetism recognisable in this Gospel is that which was accepted in the Valentinian school. The present editor assigns its composition to Western Syria about the year 165 A.D. The whole of the introductory matter with which Dr. Swete has furnished the Gospel will be found interesting. His study of the fragment is exhaustive, and his comparison of it with the canonical Gospels most instructive. He finds that its author has used the first and second, and probably the third, of our Gospels, while his dependence on John is not so certain; but although verbal coincidences with the Fourth Gospel are dubious, similarities in substance are frequent, and, to Dr. Swete, convincing. If any one expects that documents may yet be discovered which will shed new light upon the life or sayings of our Lord, he must look elsewhere than to this Gospel. For, interesting though the fragment undoubtedly is, every reader will agree with Dr. Swete that "notwithstanding the large amount

of new matter which it contains, there is nothing in this portion of the Petrine Gospel which compels us to assume the use of historical sources other than the canonical Gospels." It must be matter of congratulation to all students of early Christian literature that a scholar of the standing of Dr. Swete has taken this Gospel in hand, and issued so valuable and trustworthy an edition of it.

On the same Gospel Prof. Sabatier has furnished us with a remarkably acute and suggestive address given to the École Pratique des Hautes Études, and entitled, *L'Évangile de Pierre et les Évangiles Canoniques* (Imprimerie Nationale). As the title indicates, it compares the Gospel of Peter with our four Gospels, and shows that in respect of language, antisemitism, Christology, and other points, it is a decided advance upon them. In making this comparison much light is thrown on the growth within our Gospels, and these thirty pages form a very suggestive piece of criticism, which should by no means be overlooked by any one interested in the origin of the New Testament.

The reaction against the conclusions of the Wellhausen School of criticism is represented by *The Old Testament and the New Criticism*, by Alfred Blomfield, D.D., Bishop Suffragan of Colchester (Elliot Stock). It is somewhat disconcerting to be told in the first paragraph that the writer is not a Hebrew scholar. For this almost necessarily involves that he has not made either a prolonged or a profound study of the Old Testament and of its critics. Accepting the volume as what it claims to be, a representation of the impression made by the modern criticism on men, who, though not experts, possess common sense and ordinary intelligence, the reader will find in it something to resent, and something also to accept. In the earlier part of the book, Dr. Blomfield adduces general considerations, which are fitted to create a prejudice against his opponents, and which, if admitted, would put an end to all criticism. The fact that critics disagree in their conclusions merely proves their independence, and that their search for truth is not concluded. To charge his opponents with "shameless irreverence," "extraordinary ignorance of human nature," and so forth, is not in the best style of controversy. And what are we to say of the Bishop's objection to Dr. Driver's analysis of the Book of Genesis, that we gain nothing by it? "The question is, not whether it is easy or difficult, but what have you gained when

you have made it ?" Is it nothing then to Bishop Blomfield that we gain the truth? Is it nothing to know exactly what these writings are, and how they were composed; and is there any other instrument than criticism by which this knowledge can be gained? At the same time, Dr. Blomfield makes one or two points against the critics, and illustrates the discussion by adducing literary and historical parallels of interest. His volume is neither bulky nor tedious, and may be read with ease, but it is too fragmentary and one-sided to be of much moment in the controversy.

The issue by the Clarendon Press of its greatly improved edition of the *Helps to the Study of the Bible*, has occasioned a fresh issue of their Bibles in various sizes, with the *Helps* appended. These are extremely beautiful specimens of printing and binding; the type is clear and easy to read, the binding flexible and in perfect taste. The sizes are various, so that every eye and every purpose can be suited. The "Nonpareil 8vo thin," measuring 7 inches by 5, the "Ruby 16mo thin," measuring $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$, and the "Pearl 16mo," measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$, are very suitable for the desk or for church use; while the "Brilliant 48o thin," measuring only $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$, and bound in flexible morocco with overlapping edges, are perfect books for the pocket. These claim to be the smallest Bibles ever printed. They are easily legible.

The Cambridge University Press has also issued the Bible in various forms, with the altogether admirable *Companion to the Bible* included. Nothing can surpass the beauty of typography which these issues possess, nor can the helpfulness of the *Companion* be rivalled. Ordinary book production is as far surpassed in these exquisite volumes as the Bible surpasses ordinary books in value. They cannot fail to commend themselves to the public, neither can they fail to provoke to a more constant and intelligent study of the Bible. The *Companion* is issued separately and in various sizes; but the original octavo form is the prettiest.

EXPOSITION.—To the Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges a valuable addition has been made in Principal Moule's commentary on the Epistles to the *Colossians* and to *Philemon*. The Introduction is full and valuable. Perhaps some readers, while they cannot fail to be interested in the topographical details regarding the cities in the Lycus Valley, may be of opinion that some of them have little bearing on the Epistle. But on the whole the Introduction presents a judicious and useful summary of all that the reader of

the Epistle should possess as preliminary information. It is difficult to glean where Bishop Lightfoot has reaped, and Principal Moule does not always shake off that weighty influence; but in this Epistle he finds a congenial subject, and his notes furnish precisely the help required by those for whom he writes. On every page one sees how helpful to the commentator is a firm hold of doctrine.

Another useful addition to the Cambridge Greek Testament for schools and colleges is *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, by the late W. H. Simcox, M.A., revised by G. A. Simcox, M.A. This book closely resembles the contribution to the Cambridge Bible on the same subject, which was favourably noticed in this magazine on its appearance. Almost the whole of the introduction and a large proportion of the notes are identical in the two volumes. But the whole is adapted to the Greek text, and forms a careful and competent commentary on a most difficult part of Scripture. All that Mr. Simcox wrote was original and ingenious; and in the present volume much will be found that is at once characteristic of the writer and helpful to the reader. [The name of Weizsäcker gets less than justice in its spelling.]

Besides this volume by Mr. Simcox, two others have appeared on the Apocalypse. One is *The Revelation of St. John the Divine, with notes critical and practical*, by the Rev. M. F. Sadler (George Bell & Sons). This volume concludes Prebendary Sadler's useful commentary on the New Testament. Though slightly blemished by the writer's prepossessions, the whole work is likely to be of service in promoting the study of the Scriptures. In the present volume Mr. Sadler expresses his dissent from the Præterist school of interpreters in language that is unduly strong, when he says, "I cannot conceive how any persons of ordinary common-sense should have accepted it as it is usually stated *except for some strong reason in the background*." He rejects also the continuous historical scheme and the futurist, and himself believes that the present time in which we are now living is the period represented by the opening of the seals. While admitting the iniquity of Rome and adducing proof of it, he denies that she is Antichrist, and is inclined to believe that by the "harlot" city some great mercantile centre or commerce itself with its baleful consequences is meant. Many sensible remarks helping towards a final solution will be found in the volume.

The other contribution to the understanding of this sealed book is *The Visions of the Apocalypse and their Lessons*, by Thomas Lucas Scott, B.D., Canon of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (Skeffington & Son). In this volume Canon Scott publishes his Donnellan Lectures for 1891-92. In a very entertaining introduction he relates his development as an interpreter of *Revelation* from his school-days until the present time. He seems to have been fascinated by this book, and to have read greedily the various interpretations, and to good purpose. One by one he discarded the Præterist, Futurist, and Historic interpretations, and at length found rest in what may be called the Spiritual. That is to say, he considers the book to be a revelation of the great principles "on which move all the events of private and public life." Canon Scott's volume is throughout interesting, embodies the results of wide reading and careful study, and should certainly be pondered by every one who takes an interest in the Apocalypse, and perhaps even more by those who as yet have taken no interest in it.

Still another volume bearing on this book is *Septem Ecclesie*, by Henry H. Orpen-Palmer, B.D., Vicar of St. Peter's, Cheltenham (Elliot Stock). As the title suggests, this is a commentary embodied in popular lectures on the Epistles of Christ to the seven Churches in Asia. These lectures are based on a full and careful study of what has been written on the passage; they are very earnest and devout, and abound in apt and unhackneyed poetical quotations, and also in original passages of real eloquence. They must have been both interesting and profitable to those who heard them, and they deserve a wider circulation. A long dramatic poem on Jezebel is added.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY. — In Biblical Theology, two works by American authors have appeared. One is *Jesus and Modern Life*, by M. J. Savage (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis). When a writer tells us that the Fourth Gospel dates from 180 A.D., we know whereabouts he is and what to expect. Mr. Savage is pronouncedly Unitarian, and from that point of view he has much to say regarding the teaching of Jesus which is interesting. He writes with brightness and force although he is often uncritical.

The other volume is on *The Gospel of Paul*, by Charles Carroll Everett, Professor of Theology in Harvard University (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.; or James Clarke and Co., London). This is undoubtedly a work of very considerable merit. It is written in full

knowledge of the best literature on the Pauline Theology, and is especially intended to show that views of the Atonement have been ascribed to Paul which he does not hold. Prof. Everett seems to me to be mistaken, but every student of the Pauline theology will be grateful for his book. It contains much good criticism and much material for good criticism, and all is presented in an admirably luminous style.

But the most comprehensive and useful contribution to Biblical theology comes from France: Prof. Jules Bovon's *Théologie du Nouveau Testament*. Tome premier, "La vie et l'enseignement de Jésus" (Lausanne, Georges Bridel et Cie.). This more nearly approaches the ideal handbook on the subject than anything we yet have. It contains a sufficient and acute discussion of the sources, in which the author criticises the most recent developments of the Synoptic problem, a full and critical account of the facts of Christ's life, and a treatment of the teaching full of insight and of suggestiveness. The knowledge, the fairness, the penetrating criticism of this volume are sure to win a place for it among English readers.

It will be enough merely to record that Messrs. Hazell, Watson, and Viney have issued the twenty-first volume of Dr. Joseph Parker's *People's Bible*, in which the Gospel according to St. John is treated with a freshness which even surpasses what this most fertile of preachers has led us to expect.—Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have issued Dr. Maclaren's *Bible Class Expositions* also on the Fourth Gospel, which should be found serviceable to Sunday school teachers.—Messrs. Macmillan & Co. continue the re-issue of Frederick Denison Maurice's writings, and send us *The Prayer Book*, considered especially in reference to the Romish system, and *The Lord's Prayer*, in one volume; and in another perhaps the most celebrated of all the author's works, *The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from the Scriptures*. Messrs. Macmillan do a great service to the public by re-issuing in so cheap and beautiful a form works of permanent value.

Other books are held over owing to want of space. Among these are Kaftan's *Truth of the Christian Religion*, and the Rev. Hamlyn Hill's *Diatessaron of Tatian*.

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THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

II.

IN the Sermon on the Mount it was our Lord's first care to proclaim that in His kingdom the demands of righteousness were to be rather heightened than relaxed. He intimates that the natural goodness of the publican and the legal righteousness of the Pharisee must be outdone; that natural disposition must be underpropped by principle, and that outward and compulsory sanctity must be replaced by inward and spontaneous goodness. In all that passes for righteousness these qualities must be found. But what are to be the contents of the new righteousness? In what forms is it to express itself?

Our Lord makes no attempt to draw up a code which shall anticipate and legislate for every situation in human life. He does not put into the hands of His followers a manual of conduct which will infallibly direct them in every emergency. The futility of this method of guiding men had been abundantly illustrated in the history of those generations of the pious who had striven to adapt themselves to the requirements of the scribes. Our Lord did not, indeed, discard the Decalogue. In regard to the contents of the law as well as in respect of its spirit, He could say: "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." But, instead of developing the Decalogue into a myriad of detailed precepts, He adopted the opposite method of reducing it to one great principle. This was one of the many evidences that the religion or human condition which our Lord introduced

was appropriate to the adult stage of the race, and had left childhood behind.

The principle out of which, according to our Lord, all righteousness would necessarily spring is most fully stated in His reply to the scribe, who asked Him, What commandment is the first of all? To this question Jesus answered (Mark xii. 29): "The first is, Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God, the Lord is one; and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. The second is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." And, as is added in the parallel passage in Matthew xxii. 40: "On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." In Luke x. 25 ff., this reduction of the whole law to the principle of love is referred to a lawyer and not to Jesus. Beyschlag suggests that either the lawyer had it from the mouth of Jesus, or that Luke's version of the conversation mingles two incidents. But the conversation which follows in Luke's narrative is itself sufficient proof that even liberal and progressive lawyers of our Lord's time had not by any means grasped the root-principle of the law. Besides, our Lord was conscious that, as announced by Him, the law of love was "a new commandment." It was new in including within the term "neighbour" every man who had need of help, in exhibiting the kind of help which was most needed, and not least in at once revealing the reality of love as a motive, and in furnishing a sufficient spring or source of love.

It may at first sight seem surprising that Jesus should so seldom explicitly urge the love of God. This surprise is reduced when we reflect that the love of God manifests itself in various forms in human conduct, and that these forms were explicitly inculcated by our Lord; but especially when we reflect that His entire manifestation was intended so to reveal the Father as to quicken in man a childlike love. To

command men to love God, to explain the reasonableness and duty of loving Him, has little effect in comparison with an effective presentation of God in a lovable aspect. The effectual method of producing love to God is, not to reiterate, emphasize, or enforce the commandment to love Him, but to exhibit Him so that love necessarily springs up in the heart. The ordinary teacher not being able to compass the latter method, contents himself with the former; the true teacher, who is once for all to make the love of God possible, brings Him within human sight and human feeling, and supersedes the necessity of elaborate verbal inculcation. In all that He said, and in all that He did, therefore, Jesus was saying, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; He was bringing home to men's consciousness a God whom they could not but love.

But He also directed attention to the various modes of expression which the love of God would find for itself in human conduct. With great elaboration and insistence, according to the Fourth Gospel, He explained that His whole activity sprang from His love of God. It was His meat to do the will of Him that sent Him, and to accomplish His work (John iv. 34). "That the world may know that I love the Father, and as the Father gave me commandment, even so I do" (xiv. 31). His own life, therefore, was the supreme and final illustration of the expression in human conduct which the love of God finds for itself. It was not only the manifestation of God's love for man, but also the full and fit expression of man's love for God. And hence He becomes our supreme law. His example covers our life more adequately than any code of instructions could. His example never leaves us at a loss, because it is not the detail of His life but the spirit of it we are to reproduce. We need not live houseless, though He did; we can follow Him without becoming peripatetic teachers like Himself. But by virtue of His example and of the detail of it, we come into

the knowledge of His Spirit, and are drawn on to His devotedness and dedication to God. And as His love for the Father taught Him what was the Father's will, so the only path for us to that knowledge is sympathy with the Father, guided and quickened by the Spirit of Christ.

But besides showing in His own life what the love of God prompted, He also explicitly taught that the love of God, implying and nourishing, as it does, sympathy with Him, necessarily manifests itself in the doing of His will. If true, love cannot satisfy itself with verbal professions, but only with expenditure of activity, of being, in the fulfilment of the loved one's purposes (Matt. vii. 21). The very reason why the love of God is declared to be the first commandment, or the radical principle in human nature is that it has, as the necessity of its life, a governing place in the whole range of human conduct, and a transforming power in human character. If true, it will conquer all unworthy and irreconcilable affections, and will thus become a purifying principle in man. This governing place of the love of God is perhaps best seen in our Lord's demand that He Himself, God's representative, shall be loved with a supreme and unrivalled affection (Matt. x. 37; Luke xiv. 26). In the love of God all other loves are judged, those that are unworthy being extinguished and made impossible, those that are worthy being fostered and strengthened. It is only when supreme that the love of God becomes the regenerating, cleansing, and elevating principle in the heart.

This supremacy of the love of God is especially pressed by our Lord over against the other great competitor of man's service. "No man can serve two masters. . . . Ye cannot serve God and mammon" (Matt. vi. 24). The context shows that by mammon is here meant what we with sufficient definiteness call "the world"; and our Lord bids us mark that it is impossible to divide our devotion between God and the world as if adjusting the claims of rival com-

petitors, but that, on the contrary, the one service must be subordinate to the other, that is, must be rendered only in so far as is necessary in order to accomplish the service of the other. First in our thoughts must be the inquiry, How can we serve God? and we are only so far to busy ourselves with the world as may be necessary in order to our serving God. We may find that the bulk of our time must be consumed in concernment with worldly affairs; but so long as it is thus we can best serve God, we are not disobeying Christ's word. For the world is not inherently evil: it is evil only in so far as we make it so by allowing it an undue place in our affections.

That our Lord took no Manichæan or monkish view of the world is apparent from His delight in nature, His free entrance into human joys and festivities, His interest in all human occupations, and His explicit teaching on several occasions. Through all nature the presence of His Father shone. It was He who clothed the lilies and fed the birds. The whole world was the expression of the Father's kindness: in the sun and the rain there was a spiritual significance. In the innocent joys of men He took a part. The marriage bond is drawn closer by His word (Matt. xix. 3-9), while at the same time He recognises that marriage is not for all. Children He delights in as the joy and hope of the world. Especially in the parable of the unjust steward does He set forth the relation of wealth to the eternal world. There (Luke xvi. 9-13), while the same lesson is being taught, that men cannot serve both God and mammon, it is at the same time shown that the service of God involves the use of mammon. The main teaching of the parable is that wealth or intercourse with the world and the world's goods is put in our power in order that through a right use of what we now possess our eternal condition may be secure and happy. And our Lord does not shrink from putting this in the strongest way, and affirming that the discipline

we receive by the ordinary social life of this world is necessary for our probation: "If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches?"

In the love of God the love of man is involved. This is not so explicitly affirmed by Jesus as by His followers (1 John iv. 20; James iii. 9, i. 27), but it is involved in much that He says; especially in such words as those of Matthew v. 43-45. Our Lord found it needful to give fuller interpretations of the second great commandment than of the first, because the prepossessions of the Jews tended to blind them to its significance. He found Himself compelled to enlarge the sphere in which it was ordinarily applied, and also to illustrate what was involved in "loving"; or, as Beyschlag puts it,¹ He had to answer a twofold question: Who is my neighbour? and What is it I must do to my neighbour?

The former question was put in express terms to our Lord by the lawyer already referred to. And in reply Jesus uttered the parable of the good Samaritan (Luke x. 30-37), which was so constructed as to bring out clearly that neighbourhood is determined not by locality, or race, or official connection and obligation, but by pity or love. I am neighbour to him I can help and do help. He is neighbour to me who needs my help. Love does not ask the question, Who is my neighbour? It recognises no barriers to its expression. No needy person is born over its border. All such distinctions as are involved in the question, Who is my neighbour? have no existence for love.

The same subject is handled in the Sermon on the Mount from a different point of view. Here the barriers between man and man which had been erected by Jewish prejudice or misunderstanding were removed, and the very claim to stand in a peculiar relation to God, which hitherto had nursed in the Jew alienation and a sense of superiority, was

¹ *N. T. Theologie*, i. 112.

used to urge universal charity. "Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven: for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (Matt. v. 43-45; cp. Luke vi. 27-36; John xiii. 34; Matt. xviii. 32, the parable of the unforgiving servant). That it was not generally understood among our Lord's contemporaries that love to man as man was a duty, is apparent from the elaborate manner in which He inculcates it.

In thus removing all barriers between man and man, and in resting the whole of human conduct on this one principle of love, our Lord introduced a new idea. It is quite true that in the Wisdom literature of the Jews anticipations of His teaching regarding the forgiveness of injuries (Prov. xv. 1; Eccus. xxviii. 2-5), being kind to enemies (Prov. xxiv. 17, xxv. 21), giving alms freely (Tobit iv. 7), and so forth, may be found. It is even true that Plato inculcates the forgiveness of injuries, and repudiates the popular opinion that justice means to do good to one's friends and harm to one's enemies. Confucius and Mencius remarkably anticipate the royal law of doing to others as we would be done by. But "anyhow, Christianity may claim this peculiar merit, that it has set up that type of conduct as a general law for every man, which among the ancients was admired as the exceptive virtue of the few" (Blackie's *Four Phases of Morals*, p. 283). And moreover the significant feature of our Lord's teaching is that He rested the entire strain of the relations of man to man on this one principle.

In the Sermon on the Mount our Lord both gives us a compendious guide to all intercourse with our fellow-men, and exemplifies it in a number of details. The principle which is to guide us universally is this: "Whatsoever ye

would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them" (Matt. vii. 12). Here the instinct of self-preservation and self-help is enlisted in the service of others, and that very principle which might seem most seriously to militate against sacrifice for our neighbour is used in his service. Sympathetically putting ourselves in his place, we at once apprehend what he requires and are also incited to aid him in its attainment. The excellence of the law is two-fold. There are no circumstances in which it does not prove a sufficient guide, and there are no persons who cannot apply it; the simplest needs no other counsellor to instruct him, and the wisest can discover no fuller source of light.

The details by means of which our Lord exemplifies what love to our neighbour requires are given in Matthew v. 38-42. The injunctions recorded in these and the preceding verses have given ceaseless trouble to interpreters, and have from time to time elicited from the critics of the Christian Church a good deal of plausible but fallacious calumny. John Stuart Mill, in his stimulating, though often misleading treatise on Liberty, has the following: "The maxims and precepts contained in the New Testament are considered sacred, and accepted as laws, by all professing Christians. Yet it is scarcely too much to say that not one Christian in a thousand guides or tests his individual conduct with reference to these laws. . . . All Christians believe that the blessed are the poor and humble and those who are ill-used by the world; that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven; that they should judge not lest they be judged; that they should swear not at all; that they should love their neighbour as themselves; that if one take their cloak, they should give him their coat also; that they should take no thought for the morrow; that if they would be perfect they should sell all that they have and

give it to the poor. They are not insincere when they say that they believe these things. They do believe them, as people believe what they have always heard lauded and never discussed. But in the sense of that living belief which regulates conduct, they believe these doctrines just up to the point to which it is usual to act upon them."

From a different point of view, and with greater vehemence, these sentiments have of late years been reinforced by Count Tolstoï. This earnest and Christian writer attributes the unsuccess of Christianity to the fact that the Sermon on the Mount has not been literally interpreted and enforced in conduct. And not only such leaders of opinion, but many a humble Christian also has been of this mind. Anxious to discover why the world is no better and happier, and why the religion of Christ does so little to mend it, he reads the Sermon on the Mount and says, This is the secret; men have not obeyed Christ. Here are precepts which the Church ignores. Christianity does not mend the world, for this simple reason, that Christianity as Christ meant it does not exist in the world, but only a spurious, degenerate, pithless imitation of it.

These precepts therefore demand special attention. Our Lord's prohibition of oaths (Matt. v. 33-37) has been interpreted by the Society of Friends in such a sense that they refuse to take an oath even in a court of justice, or to employ any confirmatory addition to their "Yea, yea." This seems to be a misapprehension of our Lord's meaning. It is against the Oriental habit of interlarding the whole conversation with oaths that our Lord declares Himself. The recognised distinction between the Oriental and the Anglo-Saxon is the false and lying habit of the one, and the frankness and truth of the other. But where lying is the habit a statement is accepted only when accompanied by the strongest asseverations. Hence the constant use of oaths in conversation. Where we should say, "Is that

possible?" or simply "Indeed?" the Arab says "Wallah," that is, "By God," or "Do you say that on oath?" All such swearing, says our Lord, cometh of evil, or "of the evil one," ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ. In chapter xiii. 19, 38, ὁ πονηρός is used of the enemy who sows bad seed in the field. In the Lord's Prayer the same meaning is admissible. But in the closely succeeding verse of this fifth chapter, v. 39, a personal evil one may indeed be meant, but not the devil. In favour of the personal interpretation in verse 37 it might be urged that the father of lies is certainly the father of strong language. It results from the want of faith between man and man. A man's "yea" should be as good as his oath, and happily often is. Sometimes swearing is merely the inarticulate emphasis of ignorance, and is used by persons who do not know their mother-tongue sufficiently well to be articulately and intelligently emphatic. As Carlyle says of his father, "In anger he had no need of oaths, his words were like sharp arrows that smote into the very heart" (*Reminiscences*, i. 8). Simplicity of language accomplishes the speaker's purpose better than all exaggeration and asseveration, for through it truthfulness of heart and mind come to be recognised.

The Quaker movement has not been without appreciable result for good in society and in commerce, making some stand for truth and much-needed simplicity in life, but it is impossible to give to our Lord's words the application for which they contend. Certainly Paul did not so understand them, for on urgent occasion he used the strongest oaths possible, as in 2 Corinthians i. 23: "I call God to witness upon my soul"; and in the same Epistle, xi. 31: "The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not." If we are not prepared to say that Paul's language on these occasions is "of evil," then we must conclude that our Lord's words are spoken generally and indicate the direction in which we should

strive rather than lay down a hard and fast rule for every possible case.

Other interpreters, notably Mr. Ruskin, have laid hold of the words, "from him that would borrow of thee turn not thou away" (v. 42), and have argued that it is unlawful for a Christian to take interest on money lent. If these and the other precepts of this Sermon are to be taken in rigid literality, the inference is inevitable. But in regard to this prohibition it inevitably occurs to the mind that there are two very different classes of persons who seek loans. There are persons of slender means or no means at all, women too old, or too delicate, or too inexperienced to cope with the world except at a great disadvantage, friends in a temporary difficulty, and those countless cases of genuine need which are constantly arising in a society like ours; and there are, on the other hand, the wholly different classes of persons who wish money to push a public undertaking, or for their own commercial benefit. To treat the two classes alike is unjust. To require interest in the one case is a cruelty; in the other a justifiable transaction. The one class can only with distress give interest; the other class is prepared and glad to give it.

The interpretation of these precepts aid us to see the meaning of this whole passage and of all similar injunctions. They depict an ideal state. They point in the direction towards which all Christians must strive. To enforce them uniformly, in all circumstances and cases, is impossible. Our Lord apparently did not intend this. "He uses an ideal statement, for by means of an ideal statement He can best work actual results." "No snare of sin is half so dangerous an enemy to goodness as an imperfect ideal."¹ Useless also is it to expound these precepts in detail. He only understands them who does his own best to live into their spirit. They are intended to give a concrete and

¹ Mackintosh's *Christ and the Jewish Law*, p. 96.

easily remembered expression of the ideal which Christian men will honestly seek to realize in their life. They are of the nature of proverbs which the dull logical mind, that concerns itself only with the letter, will break its teeth upon, but which honesty sucks the truth out of and converts into invigorating blood. The precepts of Christ are of use only to those who are prepared to make the most of them; and he who recognises that there is teaching here which must not be lightly passed by as impracticable, because it is difficult of application, will not find it impossible to discriminate between those cases in which a literal fulfilment is obligatory, and those in which he can through the definite precept meet and satisfy the spirit of the Master. These strongly worded precepts have served to turn men's minds to the more peculiar aspects of Christ's ethical teaching. They have served to bring home to the mind of Christendom the necessity of cultivating the spirit they embody, and they have done so with tenfold the force which would have been exerted by prosaic instructions.

The type of character which is formed by the ethical teaching and spirit of Christ has its root in these radical graces of love to God and love to man: and these again are rooted in the great truths set in the forefront of Christ's teaching, the Fatherhood of God and the consequent Brotherhood of men. Love, carrying with it the essence of Christian morality, was therefore especially urged by the Apostles. And it is interesting to trace how this root grace develops into the various virtues as the exigencies of human life evoke this or that manifestation of Christian character. It is not only the passive virtues of meekness and lowliness of mind, of patience and forgivingness, of endurance of wrong and submission to oppression, that spring from love; but equally the active and aggressive virtues of courage, and truth, and self-devotion. It is obvious in all human life that love is thus the mother of all

fineness and strength of character, and that where love exists there you may expect heroism and self-sacrifice, justice and truth. And the distinction of the morality introduced by Christ consists in this, that He took this mother-virtue and gave it its true and dominating place, and by disclosing the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of men, and identifying both these doctrines with His own person and revelation, He at once gave an extension to the realm of love, and furnished it with a root in reality such as it had never before known.

MARCUS DODS.

ON THE PROPER NAMES IN S. MARK'S GOSPEL.

A STUDY IN THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

I PROPOSE in this article to take the proper names of persons and places which occur in S. Mark's Gospel, and to examine what becomes of them in the parallel sections (as far as there are such) of SS. Matthew and Luke. My object in doing this is to draw attention to what I believe to be a new and interesting argument in favour of the oral theory of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels.

To save the reader's time I assume at the outset that the oral theory is true. The arguments in support of it will be given as the article proceeds. I assume also that S. Mark i. 2-xvi. 8 is practically conterminous with what we may call, after Papias, "S. Peter's Memoirs of the Lord," or "Petrine Tradition," which I believe to constitute the first cycle of Oral Gospel.

In deciding which passages of SS. Matthew and Luke are to be considered parallel to S. Mark, I have generally followed Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon*. Even in the history of the Passion, where many of S. Luke's narratives appear to me to come from independent sources, I have

nevertheless for the purposes of this paper accepted Mr. Rushbrooke's parallels.

I have however excluded SS. Matthew's and Luke's "editorial notes," by which term I designate those parts of the Gospels which are personal additions of the author and not based on his authorities. Such additions to the first cycle have no claim to be considered S. Peter's work. I should like to have excluded S. Mark's "editorial notes" also, if it were possible to sever them with any certainty from his text. But though it is easy to see that such words as "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (i. 1); "In the high priesthood of Abiathar" (ii. 26); "For the Pharisees and all the Jews, unless they wash their hands with the fist, eat not," etc. (vii. 3, 4); and "the father of Alexander and Rufus" (xv. 21), are probably editorial notes, it is impossible to feel sure on this point; and in cases where S. Mark repeats a proper name several times in the same narrative when he might have used a pronoun, we cannot decide whether he is reproducing S. Peter's style or indulging in his own. The fact that the other Evangelists agree with him or differ from him in doing so is not decisive. If they agree, they may be following him and not S. Peter; if they differ, they may be departing equally from both. For believing, as I do, that the authors of the first and third Gospels obtained their knowledge of S. Peter's memoirs indirectly through S. Mark's translation of them, I can attach but little weight to their testimony in my endeavour to recover S. Peter's words. Only when they agree together against S. Mark, is it probable that they are reproducing his original language, which in the course of years of catechising he must to some degree have altered from the form which it held when the other Evangelists received it from him.

It is better therefore, in such a discussion as this, to refrain as a rule from any attempt to get behind S. Mark.

We accept him as S. Peter's authorised translator ; but we do so with a caution, knowing that allowance must be made for the unconscious working of his own mind and memory during many years.

I have not reckoned as proper names *God, Lord, Son of Man, Son of God, or Holy Spirit*. Neither have I admitted *Satan, the devil or Beelzebul*. The name *Jesus* occurs so frequently, and its repetition in many passages is so much a matter of literary feeling, that I have given the numbers first with, then without it.

I find that in the first cycle eighty-six¹ proper names occur, many of which are repeatedly given until the sum total of proper names in S. Mark amounts to 341, in the Petrine portions of S. Matthew to 270, and in the Petrine portions of S. Luke to 175.

Excluding the name *Jesus*, we find in S. Mark 261 proper names, in S. Matthew's parallel passages 194, and in S. Luke's 128.

Further details are shown in the following tables :—

	S. MARK.	S. MATTHEW.	S. LUKE.
Common to all three Gospels	105	105	105
Common to SS. Mark and Matthew	111	111	
Common to SS. Mark and Luke	35		35
In one Gospel only	90	54	35
	<hr/> 341	<hr/> 270	<hr/> 175

Omitting the name *Jesus* :—

	S. MARK.	S. MATTHEW.	S. LUKE.
Common to all three Gospels	85	85	85
Common to SS. Mark and Matthew	82	82	
Common to SS. Mark and Luke	21		21
In one Gospel only	73	27	22
	<hr/> 261	<hr/> 194	<hr/> 128

¹ I reckon Jacob and Israel, Simon and Peter, Levi and Matthew, James, John and Boanerges as distinct names. I allow three Maries, four Jameses, and two each of Joseph and Judas.

It must, however, be remembered that S. Matthew omits five of S. Mark's sections containing in all 7 proper names, and S. Luke omits 14 sections containing 36 proper names. The corrected proportion, therefore, will be for S. Mark, 341; for S. Matthew, 275; and for S. Luke, 196.

It is evident, however, on examination that, as we should have expected, the 54 names peculiar to S. Matthew, and the 35 peculiar to St. Luke are, except in one instance, "editorial notes" possessing no claim to be considered part of the Petrine memoirs. We may deduct them all but one, and the result will then be, S. Mark, 341; S. Matthew, 222; S. Luke, 162.¹

The first thing that strikes us on inspecting these figures is the large proportion of proper names (105 out of 341) which have resisted all the attrition of years of catechising, and all the changes of widely diverging literary styles, and still keep their place in three Gospels. Secondly, we notice that more than double the number (216, *i.e.* 105 + 111) are found in the two Gospels, SS. Mark and Matthew; but when we come to the other pair, SS. Mark and Luke, there is a great falling off. Only 140 (105 + 35) are common to these.

As with the proper names, so fared it with the other words generally. The catechists of Jerusalem, who were responsible for the safe keeping of the Petrine portions of S. Matthew's Gospel, were, as their Oriental training and sympathies inclined them to be, very jealous for the precise wording of the narratives which they taught. They abbreviated them, sometimes considerably; but they did not often change them. The Gentile catechists, inheriting a Greek love of liberty, were not so closely tied to their

¹ In verifying these figures no dependence must be placed on Bruder's concordance. The fourth edition of that work professes to give the readings of Tregelles, and Westcott and Hort. It really prints the *textus receptus*, and seldom notices various readings. A concordance based on a good text is much wanted.

original. As long as the general sense was retained, the words were altered with no little freedom. S. Luke supports S. Mark in only 35 cases beyond those which are common to three Evangelists, and several of these are where S. Matthew has omitted the section.

Lastly, in only one case—exclusive of “editorial notes”—does S. Matthew support S. Luke against S. Mark. For in Mark i. 5, the word *Jordan*, according to the united testimony of SS. Matthew and Luke, ought to have been written twice instead of once. In all other cases in which SS. Matthew and Luke agree, S. Mark agrees with them. Even in this case the meaning is not affected. Whether the word should be given once or twice is a question of literary propriety.

It is of course theoretically possible, if the documentary hypothesis be true, that S. Mark wrote later than SS. Matthew and Luke, and diligently incorporated into his work the whole of the proper names which he found in them, adding many more from external sources. But it seems to us very much simpler and more probable to hold that S. Mark gives us S. Peter's teaching in its fullest form, the other Gospels in a curtailed form. The priority of S. Mark is generally admitted by all classes of critics, and the facts which we have just stated most strongly confirm it.¹

Professors Sanday² and Marshall³ have recently been calling upon us in THE EXPOSITOR to abandon the oral theory of the origin of the Gospels, and to recur to the hypothesis of written documents (which have unaccountably perished and left no trace behind) as the foundation of the com-

¹ In Matthew xxvi. 50-52=Luke xxii. 48-51, the word *Jesus* is twice inserted on the united authority of SS. Matthew and Luke only. But the clauses in which it occurs, though they have Petrine words embedded in them, are, both of them, “editorial notes.” They have no real resemblance with each other, nor is there anything corresponding to them in S. Mark. They come from other sources.

² EXPOSITOR, vol. iii. p. 180.

³ EXPOSITOR, vol. iii. p. 17.

mon matter in the synoptic Gospels. Professor Sanday's reasons for urging this are different from Professor Marshall's. Professor Sanday holds fast to the unity of S. Mark and accepts his Gospel as the historical framework of the other two. He believes, as I do, that S. Matthew's *Logia*, or "utterances of the Lord," were unknown to S. Mark, or, at least, not used by him.

Professor Marshall, on the other hand, requires us to believe that S. Mark had before him, and deliberately rejected from his Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the longer parables and discourses. In fact, on Professor Marshall's showing, S. Mark becomes a mere editor of other people's work, and one who had so decided a preference for what I had almost called the chaff to the wheat, that the comparative neglect into which his Gospel has fallen is excusable.

Professor Marshall also asks us to believe that with Aramaean scribes writing was so uncertain an art that one letter was constantly misread for another. In a single line of three words he would have us maintain that six letters were confused and one dropped altogether! ¹ Now I admit that the square "Hebrew" characters in which Aramaic was written in the time of our Lord, being without vowel points and having no spaces between the words, did often, in spite of final letters, lead to misreading. But writing would have been of little use in trade if it had not been tolerably trustworthy. The scribes knew which letters were liable to be mistaken, and shaped them with corresponding care. A modern teacher has no difficulty in writing Hebrew letters distinctly. It is one thing for mistakes to have been made in deciphering a manuscript of the Old Testament, which might be centuries old with many letters frayed or rubbed away; it is quite another thing to

¹ EXPOSITOR, vol. iii. 387.

blunder in reading a manuscript which, according to Professor Marshall, can hardly have been ten years old.

Moreover if it be true—as it surely must be—that S. Peter's Memoirs as well as S. Matthew's *Logia* were originally composed in Aramaic, and continued to circulate in that language amongst the "Hebrews" of the Church at Jerusalem; if also both the Memoirs and the *Logia* were translated into Greek (as Professor Marshall allows the *Logia* to have been), and freely circulated amongst the "Hellenists," how can his linguistic test distinguish between them? The most that it can do is to discover the places where the oral Greek of either the one or the other has been revised through changes in the oral Aramaic. And thus Professor Marshall's main contention falls to the ground.

Professor Marshall himself is obliged at last to admit¹ the fact of a Greek oral version existing side by side with his supposed Aramaic documents. And this amounts practically to a surrender of his position. For the existence of such a version would inevitably prevent the numerous corruptions and mistakes which his theory requires. And if the version was oral, why should not the original have been oral also? And why should not S. Peter's memoirs have been current in both languages, as well as S. Matthew's *Logia*? S. Peter spoke Aramaic: his knowledge of at least literary Greek was small: else why did he use S. Mark or Silvanus to translate his words into Greek? But if both cycles existed in both languages, what becomes of the linguistic test?

Professor Stanton appears to agree with me in holding that the documentary hypothesis entirely fails to account for the multitude of minute discrepancies in the identical portions of the synoptic gospels. Nothing but years of oral teaching can have produced them. Oral teaching also

¹ EXPOSITOR, vol. vi. p. 93.

alone can account for the present state of the *Logia*. He has done excellent service in insisting on these important points. Nevertheless, certain minute resemblances in language and in order seem to him to make it probable that the authors of the First and Third Gospels had a copy of S. Mark before them when they wrote, though pressure of local opinion in the Churches for which they wrote prevented them from using it except in unimportant details. This assumes that *two* men treated an almost Apostolic document with equal timidity, and that S. Mark's Gospel had a wider circulation in early times than the loss of the last verses indicates. But I venture to point out what I consider a more serious difficulty.

If SS. Matthew and Luke had had before them, as Professor Stanton supposes, a written copy of S. Mark's Gospel or of its prototype, is it credible that they would have treated the proper names in it as they have done?

S. Luke, in his Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, writes as an historian. In his "editorial notes" he masses proper names as an historian would. He knows the importance of giving dates, places and persons. Is it conceivable that with S. Mark's 341 proper names in front of him he should have omitted all but 175? Or if he had only a mutilated copy of S. Mark, from which passages containing 36 proper names were absent, still the reduction of even 305 to 175 is impossible to account for, and, as we have seen, the reduction really is to 140.

Grant, however, that S. Luke was a catechist, engaged for many years in teaching "the facts concerning Jesus" to the Christians at Philippi, and is it not certain that with ordinary prudence and kindness he would avoid burdening the memory of his pupils with obscure and unfamiliar foreign names? Such places as Jerusalem, Nazareth, Capernaum; such persons as S. Peter, Mary of Magdala, Judas Iscariot, were essential to his narrative, and must be

learned : but Cæsarea Philippi, Magadan, Decapolis, Bartimæus, Herod Philip, and the Herodians, had either disappeared from the oral teaching before S. Luke received it, or slipped out of his lessons at an early date. When, therefore, he came to write his Gospel, he did not produce them, because he was no longer able to do so, though, if I understand his aims aright, he would have given almost anything for the recovery of just such proper names as these.

Our belief in the oral theory is greatly strengthened when we find that new investigations so decidedly confirm it. It has enabled me lately¹ in the simplest way, to account for S. Luke's omissions, which had puzzled me for twenty years ; it has forced upon me an easy answer to the question about the day of the Crucifixion² which was becoming a difficulty of the first magnitude. And while supporters of the documentary hypothesis sooner or later speak of disappointment, despair, and insoluble problems, those who adopt the oral hypothesis are full of hope.

Professor Sanday, for example, confesses³ his inability to account for the extraordinary discrepancies which exist between S. Luke's preface to the Sermon on the Mount and S. Matthew's (Luke vi. 17-26 = Matt. v. 1-12), when compared with the close resemblance between them in the later sections of the same sermon. To me the explanation is easy. S. Luke was a diligent collector of evangelical facts and sayings. During his long residence at Philippi, his wanderings over S. Paul's churches, or his visit to Palestine, he received by word of mouth or by letter—in Greek or Aramaic⁴—not merely the important contributions which make up the third cycle, but an abun-

¹ Letter to the *Guardian*, March 11, 1891.

² *The Biblical World*, Chicago, September, 1893.

³ *Expositor*, vol. iii. p. 311 ff.

⁴ This will account for some of the traces of translation which Professor Marshall observes.

dance of words or works of Christ collected by many private Christians. Some of these were parts of the second cycle, which was being slowly compiled at Jerusalem ; more were sent by independent witnesses. Most of them reached S. Luke without note of time or place. He found room for them in his oral lessons one by one as they came, to the best of his ability. Often he arranged them according to subject-matter rather than by their true chronology. The present state of his Gospel confirms what I say. Only thus can we account for the many boulders in it, deposited in places which are certainly not their own.

Now some of these private contributions S. Luke actually preferred to S. Peter's memoirs. In chapters xxii. and xxiii. he has substituted several of them for S. Peter's records. What more natural than that one of the spectators should have furnished him with an independent account of the opening words of the Sermon on the Mount? His edition of these opening words, besides showing signs of literary polish, differs from S. Matthew's account, as S. John's feeding of the five thousand, or SS. John's and Luke's version of S. Peter's denials differs from S. Mark's. There are some additions and much change, but the same scene is plainly described. It is possible of course that S. Luke never received S. Matthew's narrative : it is more probable that he set it aside in favour of his private information.

The argument from the order of the narratives in the three Gospels, which Mr. F. H. Woods¹ has worked out in detail, so far from being fatal to the oral hypothesis, as Professor Stanton and many others suppose, appears to me to be a strong support of it. For experience shows that if you are to learn by heart a large quantity of loosely connected matter with a view to daily repetition, you must be as careful in preserving the order as in preserving the words.

¹ *Studia Biblica*, series ii. pp. 59-101.

You must even resort to artificial means to assist you in doing this. For memory is so constituted that a variation in order would lead to the loss of matter. Every system of mnemonics is based on association and order. The catechists could only perform their duty by dividing their subject into lessons, and taking each lesson in its proper sequence. The addition from time to time of new matter would not disturb the order of the old sections. A few minor changes would be made, as they have been, in the several churches on first starting: for each considerable church must have had its own Oral Gospel; but when once the order was fixed in any church, it would remain.

Lastly, the contention that the first cycle, if published in Jerusalem, must have contained a Judæan ministry,¹ does not appear to me decisive. In the first place more than a third—three-eighths—of S. Mark's Gospel is taken up with events which happened and discourses which were delivered in Jerusalem. Several of these, I maintain, though placed in Holy Week by S. Mark, belong really to the earlier years of our Lord's ministry. And if, as becomes increasingly probable, a Johannine course of oral teaching was extant in comparatively early times, it is not strange that, as S. John dealt chiefly with the Judæan ministry, S. Peter should have refused to intrude into his brother Apostle's domain. They may have agreed at the outset to divide the work thus between them.

"Mr. Wright," Professor Sanday writes,² "knows the ins and outs of his friends the catechists' proceedings more intimately than most of us." I admit that I have collected for the first time and put together the obscure hints scattered over the New Testament, which indicate the existence and work of a noble band of men who have been hitherto strangely neglected but to whom the Church is under infinite obligation. And in filling up the picture I

¹ EXPOSITOR, vol. iii. p. 187.

² EXPOSITOR, vol. iii. p. 83.

have no doubt made some use of the historical imagination, as every one must do who would present a vivid picture of bygone ages. And to a certain extent at least I have been successful. The existence of the catechists is no longer denied. An effort is sometimes made to belittle them and minimise their work. Not so did the learned author of the Clementine homilies estimate them when he called the catechist of the Apostolic age the officer in command at the prow of the ecclesiastical ship. That was a post of dignity and responsibility second only to the position of the Bishop in the poop. And the catechists, if I mistake not, are regaining it. We have seen how Professor Marshall flies for refuge to them from a serious difficulty. Even Professor Sanday is forced to admit¹ that the catechists lived and laboured in all parts of the Christian world: the contention between us is reduced to this, whether they taught (as Apollos, who was one of them, taught) "the facts concerning Jesus,"² which facts alone their pupils would be willing to learn, or only moral precepts and "the two ways," which belong, I contend, to the less earnest times of the second century, when the Gospels were a written possession. Theophilus, at any rate, had been catechised in the very facts about which S. Luke wrote³ in his Gospel.

But, to return to the proper names, the first cycle speaks of the exercise of miraculous power on twenty-eight occasions. Four times it tells us generally that many were healed, twice definite numbers—5,000 and 4,000—were fed. Eight miracles concerned our Lord Himself. The recipients of the remaining fourteen were individuals. Now it is very remarkable that only one of these individuals is mentioned by name—Bartimæus, the son of Timæus. S. Peter's mother-in-law and Jāirus's daughter are designated by the name of a relative. Eleven are anonymous.

¹ EXPOSITOR, vol. iii. p. 84.

² Acts xviii. 25.

³ Luke i. 4.

If S. Peter had been writing history for the refutation of adversaries, he would have taken pains to discover (if he had forgotten or never known) the names of these eleven persons, and he would have appealed to them as witnesses in his support. But S. Peter was teaching Christians who accepted his testimony. They wanted information, not proof. They were little disposed to burden their memory with proper names of persons whom they did not know. They expected the end of the dispensation very shortly, and knew nothing of the claims of posterity.

On the other hand S. Peter's knowledge of places might be expected to be fuller. And we find that he fixes the locality of fourteen miracles. Four others are said to have been wrought "in the desert," "in a desert spot," "on a lofty mountain," or at its foot. The remaining ten have no local clue.

Seven Old Testament saints are mentioned—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob or Israel, Moses, David, Elijah, Isaiah. S. Mark adds Abiathar, and S. Matthew Jeremiah and Daniel in what are probably "editorial notes." It is noteworthy that the seven are mentioned in all the three Gospels. The common idea that Gentile Christians took little interest in the Old Testament is not supported. S. Luke's quotations from the Old Testament in the Acts of the Apostles completely refute it.

The name of Jesus is mentioned 80 times in S. Mark, John the Baptist 16 times, the Boanerges and Pilate 10 times, Peter and Herod (Antipas) 8 times. So truly is the first cycle described as "the facts concerning Jesus."¹

Something is told concerning nine faithful men of that age, John the Baptist, Simon Peter, the sons of Zebedee, Matthew (if indeed he is identical with Levi, which is more than doubtful), Jairus, Bartimæus, Joseph of Arimathæa, Simon the Cyrenian; and of three holy women, the Virgin

¹ Acts xviii. 25.

Mary, Mary of Magdala, Salome. Then come four unbelieving men—Herod, Pilate, Barabbas, Judas Iscariot, and one unbelieving woman, Herodias.

Very little is recorded of the above persons. If it were not for the dramatic vividness of S. John's Gospel, we should be singularly in the dark about the Apostles and leaders of the Church. Except in the one tragic scene of the Baptist's murder, our Lord is the central figure in every section of the first cycle. Other characters are entirely subordinate to Him.

Names and nothing more are given of twenty-three other persons, of whom seven were Apostles and four "brethren of the Lord." The rest are Alphæus, Zebedee, James the Little and his brother Joses, Simon the leper, Timæus, Alexander and Rufus (these two I regard as an editorial addition of S. Mark's), Mary (who is once described as the mother of James the Little and Joses, on another as the mother of Joses, and on a third as the mother of James), (Tiberius) Cæsar, Herod Philip (in Cæsarea Philippi) and apparently another Herod Philip in the narrative of the Baptist's murder.

Geographical details are scanty. Five countries are mentioned—Judæa, Galilee, Gennesaret, Beyond Jordan, and Decapolis. Eleven cities or villages—Jerusalem, Capernaum, Nazareth, Bethsaida, Cæsarea Philippi, Jericho, Bethphage, Bethany, Magadan, Tyre and Sidon. I might have given Dalmanutha instead of Magadan, but, as Professor Rendel Harris has shown,¹ it is probably a "primitive error," in which S. Matthew has preserved the true Petrine word. If, as I have long suspected, Bethphage and Bethany are two names of the same village, all difficulty about them disappears. Lieutenant Conder does not admit the existence of two Bethsaidas on the shore of the same lake. And such a thing is hardly credible in itself. Either, therefore,

¹ On the *Codex Beza*, p. 178.

S. Luke¹ has unwittingly transposed the name from the end of the narrative to the beginning, or some private informant has told him the locality of the feeding of the four thousand—for which Bethsaida is singularly well suited—and he, knowing nothing of that event, has transferred the word to the feeding of the five thousand. S. Mark only knows of a “desert spot” as the scene of the miracle, and S. John’s narrative does not at all suit the North end of the lake. It is true that S. John in another place² speaks of a “Bethsaida in Galilee,” whereas the only Bethsaida of which we know was on the east shore of the Jordan, and therefore just out of Galilee in Gaulanitis. But S. Luke has once interchanged Gaulanitis³ with Galilee, and it may well be that the word Galilee had a wider application in addition to its strict geographical use.

S. Mark tells us that Nazareth was in Galilee,⁴ S. Matthew that Capernaum was by the sea-side,⁵ and S. Luke that Tyre was on the shores of the Mediterranean,⁶ and that Capernaum was a city in Galilee.⁷ But all these additions seem to be “editorial notes.” Knowledge on the part of the reader is generally assumed.

Five other places are mentioned—the river Jordan, the sea of Galilee, the Mount of Olives, the Garden of Gethsemane, Golgotha. S. Luke omits Gethsemane, and translates Golgotha “a skull.”⁸ So he translates Cananæan “Zealot.”⁹ To prevent mistake he calls the sea of Galilee the lake of Gennesaret. He defines the “two disciples” (Mark xi. 1 = Matt. xxi. 1) to be Peter and John. He describes John as “the son of Zechariah” (iii. 2). For Thaddæus he puts “Judas the (son) of James” (Luke vi. 16; cf. Acts i. 13). He adds Joanna (xxiv. 10) to the list of women who visited the sepulchre.

¹ Luke ix. 10; cf. Mark vi. 45.² xii. 21.³ Acts v. 37.⁴ i. 9.⁵ iv. 18.⁶ iv. 17.⁷ iv. 31.⁸ xxiii. 33.⁹ vi. 15.

Again, twelve adjectives derived from proper names are found—Jews, Pharisees, Sadducees, Galilæans, Jerusalem-ites, Herodians, Gerasenes, Idumæans, Nazarene, Cyrenian, Greek, Syrophœnician. S. Matthew, at least in the present text, changes Gerasenes into Gadarenes.

Finally we may observe that of the eighty-six proper names which occur in the first cycle, the following twenty-five are absent from S. Luke's parallels: Abiathar, Thaddæus, Boanerges, the names of the four Brethren of the Lord, James the Little, Joses, Bartimæus, Timæus, Alexander, Rufus, Salome, both the Herods Philip (if indeed there were two), the Herodians, Jerusalemites, Greek woman, Syrophœnician, Gennesaret, Beyond Jordan, Decapolis, Cæsarea Philippi, Magadan. These names, I submit, are exactly the kind of names which we should expect to be riddled out of the tradition in forty years of catechetical teaching amongst persons who were not resident in Palestine. But if we look at the proper names in the non-Petrine portions of S. Luke's Gospel, or at the remarkably rich array of famous and obscure persons and places mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, they will be seen to be just the kind of names which S. Luke would have wished to record in a written Gospel.

ARTHUR WRIGHT.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

XIV. THE FLESH AS A HINDRANCE TO HOLINESS.

THE title of this article indicates correctly the point of view from which the flesh is regarded in the Pauline Epistles. It is not with an abstract doctrine or theory of the flesh that we have to do, but with an unhappy, untoward fact of Christian experience—a stubborn resistance offered by a power residing in the flesh to the attainment of that entire holiness after which every sincere Christian earnestly aspires. The point of view is clearly indicated in this exhortation to the Galatian Church: “Walk in the Spirit, and do not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: for these are contrary to each other, so that ye may not do the things that ye would.”¹ That the flesh is an obstructive in the way of holiness could not be more distinctly stated. And yet in the Epistle to the Romans the same truth is proclaimed, if not with greater plainness, at least with more marked emphasis. “Therefore, brethren,” writes the apostle, “we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye must die: but if by the Spirit ye mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.”² Here to fight with the flesh is represented as a positive duty. We are “debtors” to this intent. And the fight is urgent, a matter of life and death. The state of the case is that we must kill the flesh, or it will kill us.

We, *Christians*, have to wage this war as we value our salvation. In the seventh chapter of *Romans* mention is made of a tragic struggle with the flesh which might on fair exegetical grounds be relegated to the pre-regenerate or pre-Christian state. But the fight is not over when one has

¹ *Gal.* v. 16, 17.

² *Rom.* viii. 12, 13.

become a believing man and has begun effectively to walk in the Spirit. Thenceforth it is carried on with better hope of success, that is all the difference. It is to believing men, Christians, regenerate persons, that the apostle addresses himself in the above cited texts. And he speaks to them in so serious a tone because he knows the formidable nature of the foe from *present, chronic, personal experience*. This we know from that extremely significant autobiographical hint in 1 *Corinthians*: "I buffet my body, and bring it into bondage; lest by any means, after having preached to others, I myself should become a rejected one."¹ Depend upon it this buffeting or bruising of the body was for St. Paul a serious business. He found it necessary for spiritual safety to be in effect an ascetic, not in any superstitious sense, or on a rigid system, but in the plain, practical sense of taking special pains to prevent the body with its clamorous passions from getting the upper hand.

One thing we may note here by the way. Comparing these three texts one with another, we gather that *body* and *flesh*, so far as obstructing holiness is concerned, are for the apostle synonymous terms. It is against the *flesh* he warns fellow Christians; the *body* is the foe he himself fears. Those who are familiar with the recent literature of Paulinism will understand the bearing of this remark. Some writers will have it that the two terms bear widely different senses in the Pauline letters. *Σὰρξ*, they say, is a *Substanzbegriff*, and *σῶμα* a *Formbegriff*: the word "flesh" points to the material of which the body consists; the word "body" to the form of our material organism. The distinction is made in the interest of a theory to the effect that St. Paul shared the Greek view of flesh and of all matter—that it is inherently evil. This theory will come up for consideration at a later stage. Meantime, we have to remark that so far as we have gone we have found no reason

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 27.

to suppose that the conceptions of "flesh" and "body" lay so far apart in the Pauline system of thought as is alleged.

It may surprise some that so good and saintly a man as the Apostle Paul should have found in the body or the flesh so much of a hindrance to the spiritual life. Surprising or not, we may take it for certain that such was the fact. In spite of his passion for holiness, the flesh was constantly and obstinately obstructive. Nay, may we not say that it was obstructive not merely in spite, but in consequence of his passion for holiness? None knows better than the saint what mischief the flesh can work. Let the tragedies which have been enacted in the cells of holy monks bear witness. There is a mysterious, subtle, psychological connection between spiritual and sensual excitements, which some of the noblest men have detected and confessed. Hence it comes to pass, paradoxical as it may seem, that most earnest and successful endeavours to walk in the Spirit, or even to fly under His buoyant inspiration, may develop, by way of reaction, powerful temptations to fulfil the grossest lusts of the flesh. Eloquent preachers, brilliant authors, know that this is no libel. Times of widespread religious enthusiasm make their contribution to the illustration of this same law. Powerful breezes of the Spirit are followed by outbreaks of epidemic sin, in which the works of the flesh are deplorably manifest.

Whatever surprise or disappointment it may awaken in us that the flesh should give trouble to such an one as St. Paul, we are quite prepared to discover in his writings traces of a subtle insight into the nature and varied manifestations of its evil influence. Such insight formed an essential feature of his spiritual vitality. It was what was to be expected from one who, even before he became a Christian, and in spite of a Pharisaic training, which taught him to regard the outward act as alone important, made the

great discovery that *coveting* was a sin. It would be only an extension of that discovery if Paul the Christian and the apostle found in himself much of the evil working of the flesh when there was nothing in his outward conduct on which the most unfriendly critic could fasten. "Thou shalt not commit adultery," that is a commandment forbidding a definite outward act. But Jesus, on the Mount, had said, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart,"¹ and Paul's Christian conscience endorsed the sentiment as, however severe and searching, nothing but the truth. And who can tell what painful inner experiences this saintly man passed through in this direction? That the flesh meant for him very specially, though not exclusively, sexual impulse, may be inferred from the prominent position given to sins of impurity in his catalogues of the works of the flesh.² A voluntary abstainer from marriage relations that he might the better perform the duties of his apostolic calling, a veritable "eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake,"³ he rightly appears to the spectator of his great career a devoted, saintly, heroic man. But what, just because of the loftiness of his moral ideal, and the keenness of his insight, may he sometimes have appeared to himself? Less than the least of all saints; nay, no saint at all, but a poor, vile, self-humiliated sinner, actually within measurable distance of being a "castaway." Does this language shock pious readers? It certainly costs this writer an effort to put such words on paper. But he forces himself to do so because he believes that it is along this road we shall most readily arrive at an understanding of what St. Paul means by his many strong words concerning the flesh, rather than through learned lucubrations concerning the meaning of the Hebrew word for flesh in the Old Testament Scriptures, or as to the probability of the apostle having got his doctrine

¹ Matt. v. 28.² Gal. v. 19.³ Matt. xix. 12.

of the *σάρξ* from Philo or some other representative of Hellenistic philosophy. That one statement, "I buffet my body," is of more value to me as a guide to his thought than all the monographs on the subject. It tells me that *Saint Paul*, while a true saint, was also a man of like passions with ourselves, that he had his desperate struggles with the flesh under very common forms of temptation, and that his sanctity was a victory achieved in that fell war by one who was prepared to sacrifice an offending member that the whole body might not be cast into hell. For the comfort of those who are manfully, though, as it appears to themselves, with very indifferent success, fighting the same battle, it is well to make this plain.

In the foregoing remarks I have virtually forestalled the question, What is meant by the flesh in the Pauline letters, and on what ground is it there represented as the very seat of sin? An unsophisticated reader, confining his attention to these Epistles, would probably gather from them an answer to this question somewhat to the following effect. The flesh means of course primarily the material substance of the body, and its ethical significance in the Pauline Epistles, as representing the sinful element in general, is due to the fact of its being the seat of appetites and passions of a very obtrusive character, which, though neither in themselves nor in their effects the whole of human sin, yet constitute its most prominent part, especially in the case of a Christian. Take the case of St. Paul himself once more as our example. He is conscious that with his mind and heart he approves, loves, and pursues the good; that he is a devoted follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, and a single-minded servant of the kingdom of God. But he is conscious of distractions, temptations, hindrances, and on reflection these appear to him to arise out of his body. He sees still, as of old, a law in his members warring against the law of his mind. This body of death, therefore, this

flesh, becomes to him the symbol of sin generally; he speaks of it as if it were the one fountain of sin, tracing to its evil influence not merely sensual sins, properly so called, though these are generally placed first in enumerations, but sins of the spirit likewise, such as pride, envy, hatred. This *primâ facie* answer is, I believe, not far from the truth. But it raises other questions not to be disposed of so easily. How does it come to pass that the *flesh* causes the saint so much trouble? why does it lag so far behind the *mind* in the path of sanctification? We know what Philo and the author of the Book of Wisdom, and the Greeks from whom they drew their inspiration thought on that subject. They deemed matter generally, and especially the fleshly part of human nature, to be inherently and incurably evil. The animated matter which we call our bodies was in their view necessarily, inevitably, universally a source of evil impulse, the problem of the spirit being to trample its unworthy companion under foot, and its hope to get finally rid of it by death.

Was this St Paul's view? Many modern theologians think that it was, and that on this important subject he was a disciple of the Alexandrian or Judæo-Greek philosophy. On this question it is needful to speak with care and discrimination. St Paul might hold the Greek view without getting it from the Greeks or from any external source. Again, he might go a considerable way with the Greeks in his thoughts concerning the flesh, without having any cut and dried theory regarding it such as speculative minds loved to elaborate. As a matter of fact I believe the latter supposition to be pretty nearly correct. A reader of the Pauline Epistles gets the impression that the writer thought as badly of the flesh, that is, of the material part of man, as did Philo, who beyond doubt was in entire sympathy with the Greek view of matter. And I apprehend that Paul and Philo thought so badly of the flesh for very

much the same reason—not to begin with at least on *a priori* grounds of theory, but, on practical grounds of experience. Philo's writings, just like those of St Paul, are full of allusions to the temptations which assail the saint or sage arising out of the appetites and passions that have their seat in the flesh. But the difference between the two men lay here. Philo with his leaning towards Greek philosophy theorised on the subject of the flesh and its evil proclivities, to the effect already indicated. St Paul, on the other hand, did not theorise. He contented himself with stating facts as they presented themselves to him in experience. Whether the Greek theory was known to him is quite uncertain; the probability is that it was not. But even if it had been, it is not at all likely that it would have had any attractions for him, as his interest in the matter involved was no wise speculative but wholly ethical and religious. Nay, the probability is that on ethical and religious grounds he would have regarded the theory with aversion and disfavour. Some solid reasons can be given for this statement.

1. The theory that matter or flesh is essentially evil is decidedly *un-Hebrew*. The dualistic conception of man as composed of two natures, flesh and spirit, standing in necessary and permanent antagonism to each other, is not to be found in the Old Testament Scriptures. It is true indeed that between the close of the Hebrew canon and the New Testament era the leaven of Hellenistic philosophy was at work in Hebrew thought, producing in course of time a considerable modification in Jewish ideas on various subjects; and it is a perfectly fair and legitimate hypothesis; that traces of such influence are recognisable in the Pauline doctrine of the *σάρξ*. But the presumption is certainly not in favour of this hypothesis. It is rather all the other way; for throughout his writings St Paul appears a Hebrew of the Hebrews. His intellectual and

spiritual affinities are with the Psalmists and Prophets, not with Alexandrian philosophers; and if there be any new leaven in his culture it is Rabbinical rather than Hellenistic.

2. A second consideration bearing on the question at issue is that, whereas according to the Greek view the flesh ought to be *unsanctifiable*, it is not so regarded in the Pauline Epistles. Sometimes, indeed, it might seem as if the apostle did look on the flesh, or the body, as incurably evil; as when in a text already quoted he speaks of killing the deeds of the body,¹ or when he employs such a phrase as "the body of this death,"² or represents the body as "dead on account of sin."³ But in other places the body is represented as the subject of sanctification not less than the soul or spirit. Not to mention 1 *Thess.* v. 13, where the apostle prays that the whole spirit, soul and body of his brethren may be preserved blameless unto the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, there is the important text in 1 *Cor.* vi. 19, 20, where the body is represented as the temple of the Holy Ghost, and it is set forth as a duty arising directly out of the consciousness of redemption to glorify God in the body,⁴ in the special sense of keeping clear of sexual impurity. Another very important text in this connection is 2 *Cor.* vii. 1, where it is inculcated as a Christian duty to cleanse ourselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit; of the flesh as well as the spirit, of the flesh not more than the spirit, there being the same possibility and the same need of sanctification in both. It is true indeed that the genuineness of this text has been called in question by Holsten, one of the strongest advocates of the Hellenistic character and source of the Pauline idea of the flesh.⁵ One can very well understand

¹ *Rom.* viii. 14.

² *Rom.* vii. 24.

³ *Rom.* viii. 10.

⁴ The point of the exhortation is very much blunted by the addition in T.B. *καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*.

⁵ *Zum Evangelium des Petrus und des Paulus*, p. 387.

why upholders of this view should desire to get the text in question out of the way. It teaches too plainly what their theory of necessity negatives, the sanctifiableness of the flesh. They have no objection to the sanctification of the *body* taught in 1 *Cor.* vi. 19, because "body" is a mere *Formbegriff*; but sanctification of the *flesh*—impossible, if, with the Greeks, St Paul held the flesh, like all matter, to be inherently evil. And so, as that is held to be demonstrable, there is nothing for it but to pronounce 2 *Cor.* vi. 14–vii. 1, a spurious insertion. It is a violent critical procedure, but it serves the one good purpose of amounting to a frank admission that the exhortation to purify the flesh is not compatible with the theory advocated by the critic.

Before passing on to another point it may be well here to reflect for a moment on the unsatisfactoriness of the distinction taken between "body" and "flesh" in reference to the topic of sanctification. The body, we are told, is sanctifiable because it is an affair of form; the flesh, on the contrary, is unsanctifiable because it is an affair of substance. We are to conceive of St Paul solemnly exhorting the churches to which he wrote to this effect: By all means take pains to sanctify the organic form called the body, but, as for the flesh wherein lies the seat and power of sin, it must be given up as past sanctifying. Can we imagine an earnest man like the apostle trifling with his readers in so serious a matter, by giving them an advice at once frivolous and absurd? Sanctify what does not need sanctifying; hope not to sanctify what most urgently needs sanctification! There is nothing wrong with the bodily form; it is graceful and beautiful; what is wanted is power to curb the fleshly desire which its beauty awakens, or the carnal wish to use that beauty as a stimulus to concupiscence.¹

¹ *Vide* on this point Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist*, p. 108. Wendt professes his inability to conceive how a man can begin to make his bodily form

3. A doctrine teaching a dualistic opposition between flesh and spirit, and implying that flesh as distinct from spirit is essentially evil, ought to be accompanied by a Pagan *eschatology*, that is to say, by the doctrine that the life after death will be a purely disembodied one. If all sin spring from the body, or if nothing but evil can spring from it, then the sooner we get rid of it the better, and once rid of it let us be rid for ever, such riddance being a necessary condition of our felicity. Not such however, was the outlook of the apostle. The object of his hope for the future was not the immortality of the naked, unclothed soul,¹ but the immortal life of *man*, body, and soul. The fulfilment of his hope demanded the resurrection of the body: only when that event had taken place would the redemption of man in his view be complete.² To one holding this view a theory involving that the soul in the future state should be unclothed could not fail to be repulsive. It is true indeed that the body of the eternal state, as the apostle conceives it, is not the corruptible, mortal, gross body of the present state, but a "spiritual body" endowed with incorruptibility, and apparently resembling the heavenly bodies radiant with light rather than this "muddy vesture of decay."³ The point to be emphasized, however, is that the apostle demands that there shall be a body of some sort in the eternal state, even though conscious of the difficulty of satisfying all the conditions of the problem. You may say if you please that the problem is insoluble, and that the expression "spiritual body" is simply a combination of words which cancel each other. It is enough to remark, by way of reply, that that was not

apart from the matter of the body the object of an ethical and religious sanctification, and protests against ascribing to the apostle a counsel amounting to nothing more than empty words.

¹ *Vide* 2 Cor. v. 4.

² *Rom.* viii. 23.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 44-50.

St Paul's view, and the fact sufficiently proves that he lived in a different thought-world from that of the Greeks.

While I say this, I am perfectly aware that the Pauline anthropology is by no means free from difficulties and obscurities. The phrase "a spiritual body" is of itself sufficient to show the contrary. The two words "spiritual" and "body" seem to point in opposite directions, and to imply incompatible speculative presuppositions. A similar lack of theoretic coherence seems to confront us in other utterances on the same topic. Thus in 1 *Corinthians* xv. the resurrection body is represented as differing not only from our present mortal body but even from that of the first man. "The first man is of the earth earthy."¹ These words not unnaturally suggest the view that Adam's flesh and our flesh are in all respects the same, both alike unfit for the kingdom of God and the eternal state, both alike mortal, corruptible, and even sinful. This accordingly is the construction put upon the words by the advocates of the theory now under discussion. But on the other hand it is not difficult to cite texts from the Pauline literature which seem to imply that mortality and sinfulness were not natural and original attributes of human nature, but accidents befalling it in consequence of Adam's transgression. *Romans* v. 12 seems to point in this direction; so also does *Romans* viii. 21-23, where the corruptibility of the creation generally is called a bondage, and the body of man is represented as sharing in the general bondage and looking forward to redemption from it. The whole train of thought in this passage seems to imply that the present condition of things is something abnormal, something not belonging to the original state of creation, something therefore which it belongs to Christ as the Redeemer to remove. The same idea is suggested even by the statement in *Romans* vii. 14, one of the texts on which chief

¹ c. 47.

reliance is placed for proof of the thesis that the Pauline anthropology is based on Greek dualism. "I am made of flesh (σάρκινος), sold under sin." Assuming that the writer speaks here not merely for himself, but as the spokesman of the race, we get from these words the doctrine that wherever there is human flesh there is sin, which seems to be the very doctrine imputed to the apostle by such theologians as Holsten and Baur. Yet the very terms in which he expresses the fact of universal human sinfulness suggests another theory as to its source. "*Sold* under sin." The words convey the notion that the sinful proclivity of man, while universal, is accidental, a departure from the normal and original state of things, therefore not irremediable. Were it a matter of natural necessity it were vain to cry, "Who shall deliver me?" No man or angel could deliver. Only death, dissolving the unhappy union between νοῦς and σάρξ, could come to the rescue.

On these grounds it may be confidently affirmed that the metaphysical dualism of the Greeks could not possibly have commended itself to the mind of St. Paul. An ethical dualism he does teach, but he never goes beyond that. It is of course open to any one to say that the metaphysical dualism really lies behind the ethical one, though St. Paul himself was not conscious of the fact, and that therefore radical disciples like Marcion were only following out his principles to their final consequences when they set spirit and matter, God and the world over against each other as hostile kingdoms. But even those who take up this position are forced in candour to admit that such gnostic or Manichæan doctrine was not in all the apostle's thoughts.¹

An *ethical* dualism, however, of a decided character St. Paul does teach. If we cannot agree with those who impute to him Greek metaphysics, as little can we sympathise

¹ Vide Haurath, *Neu-testamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, ii. 468.

with those who in a reactionary mood go to the opposite extreme, and endeavour, as far as possible, to assign to the word *σάρξ* in his epistles the innocent sense of creaturely weakness as opposed to Divine Power, without any necessary connotation of sin. This is the view of *Wendt* as expounded in his able tractate on the notions "flesh" and "spirit." He tries to show that the Hebrew word for flesh bears this sense in all passages in the Old Testament in which the term is charged with a religious significance, and this result he brings as a key to the study of Pauline texts in hope that it will open all doors. One cannot but admire his ingenuity in the attempt, but as little can one resist the feeling that he is guilty of exaggeration not less than those whose theory it is his aim to refute. Of course he is not so blinded by bias as to be unable to see that St. Paul does frequently ascribe to the creaturely weakness of man both intellectual and moral aberration. But then he tells us that these adverse judgments on the flesh are "*synthetic*" not "*analytic*"; that is, state something concerning the flesh not involved in the notion of it. "I am of flesh, sold under sin" is a synthetic proposition which proclaims not the origin of sin out of an essentially evil flesh, but the tyrannic power, somehow acquired, of sin in an originally innocent flesh. It may be so; nevertheless we cannot but note that for the writer the synthesis seems to have become so firmly established that to say "*ἁμαρτωλός*" is all one with saying, "I am sold under sin." To such transformation of the synthetic into the analytic human speech is liable. Consider the original etymological meaning of the word *Jesu-it(e)*, then reflect what a word of evil omen it is now, and what damnatory judgments no longer "*synthetic*," but grown very "*analytic*" indeed, it suggests to the average Protestant mind! "Flesh" seems to have become for the Apostle Paul a term of not less sinister import than "*Jesuit*" is for us. Whence this trans-

mutation of the creaturely weakness of the Old Testament into the wicked carnality of the Pauline Epistles? If Hellenism does not explain it as little does Hebrewism as interpreted by Wendt. The Pauline conception of the flesh seems to be a *tertium quid*, something intermediate between Hellenism and Hebrewism, the creation of a very intense religious experience, and of a very pronounced moral individuality.¹

Thoughts having such a genesis are not wont to be expressed in the colourless measured terms of scholastic theology; and if a certain element of exaggeration, one-sidedness, morbidity enter into the language in which they are clothed, there is no cause for surprise. Can any such element be discerned in St. Paul's statements concerning the flesh? Those who are disposed to find a tinge of pessimism in this part of his teaching might refer in proof not merely to the peculiarity of his religious history, but to the high-strung enthusiasm of his Christian life, to the artificial condition of enforced celibacy under which he prosecuted his apostolic vocation, and to his expressed preference for the single state as the best not only for himself but for all, especially in view of the near approach of the world's end.² It is certainly not easy to maintain a perfect balance of judgment in such circumstances, and perhaps at this point the great apostle falls short of the calm, tranquil wisdom of the greater Master. But it were a serious mistake to set aside his stern utterances as mere rhetorical extravagances not worthy of our earnest attention. Here, as elsewhere, his statements, however startling, are in contact with reality. It would be well for us all to lay to heart the humbling word: "in me, that is, in my

¹ Such is the view taken by Harnack of St. Paul's doctrine as to Christ's pre-existence, and it involves a similar view of the apostle's doctrine as to the "flesh." *Vide his Dogmengeschichte* vol. i., pp. 710-718.

² 1 Cor. vii. 29-31.

flesh, dwelleth no good thing," not by way of extracting comfort from the thought that it is only in the flesh the evil lies, but rather of realizing that the flesh is ours, and of making ourselves fully responsible for the evil to which it prompts. No man who fails to do this has any right to express an opinion on the question how far St. Paul in his doctrine of the flesh is true to fact and to right Christian feeling.

Before passing from this subject we must consider a text which has given rise to much controversy in its bearing thereon, *Romans* viii. 3. This, however, must be reserved for another article.

A. B. BRUCE.

THE NEW TESTAMENT MYSTERIES.

It is more easy to exaggerate the proportion than the significance of onomatopœic words in a language. They are likely to be few and far between; they are destined to be driven out like aborigines, to become rarer in the civilized development of the tongue. Yet there is always a character of their own about these terms, attracting and engaging attention none the less when they are found in new associations, and in strange departures from their original intention. For even thus they are seen to preserve something of their elemental force and native point. Now *μυστήριον* is clearly an onomatopœic word. Its source is indeed less obscure from the fact that its root-sound "mu" appears to have remarkable parallels in other languages as being one of the first essays in the articulation of syllables. This "mu" sound is heard as the earliest of efforts after word-formation. Such a question, however, must be left to other and more competent students. For the present purpose it will be enough to recall the term as it is illustrated in so early a writer as Herodotus. All classical scholars are aware how that writer employs it with reference to the pathetic strivings after guidance other than human, to the mysteries familiar to his quick observation, Greek, and Asiatic, as they might chance to be, pure or foul as they were by turn. At this early stage is to be noted the link which strongly binds the employment of the term to its derivation. The enigma of the oracles was two-fold, as it is, save the mark, with the utterances of some of our less intelligible preachers of to-day. On the one hand the significance was enwrapped in an impenetrable obscurity; on the other hand it was often impossible to catch the words. The response was doubtful—the delivery imperfect. The oracle's lips as he uttered the mystic sentences moved like an infant's; he muttered like an old man or an imbecile.

It was, however, these historic and verifiable conditions which helped fairly to fix the meaning of the term "mystery" after Herodotus. Certainly no Greek could use it without reference to one of the most remarkable institutions of the ancient world. As Greek patriotism can never be appreciated without reference to the national festivals and games, so neither can Greek religion be understood in its earlier stages without reference to those secret sacred rites destined to leave indelible marks not only in language but in thought to-day. It is not needful to pursue the familiar subject of the ancient Greek "mysteries" beyond observing how far their characteristic features survive, and are expressed in New Testament phraseology. Considering some of the frightful associations in the history of the word, one might naturally expect a hesitation, if not a repugnance, in regard to its employment in Christian thought and ideas. But it is not so. "Mystery" is just one of those characteristic terms fearlessly and freely incorporated into the literature of the New Testament, despite the pagan associations linked with it. But it is neither their falsity, still less their impurity, which necessarily pursues the word in its Christian adoption. Happily, that which was false or impure was not essential in the ancient Greek mysteries. To the religiously minded men of the Greek world, say in the third century before Christ, such features in the mysteries, wherever and whenever observed, must have been abhorrent. The mysteries were rather for them celebrations in and through which revelations might be made of the profounder secrets of the religious life; then, by an easy transition, they were regarded as the revelations themselves. Now here we light upon the essential point of the mysteries. Whatever else they were—whatever might be said for or against them—they were from first to last secret. It is this fittest survival of their meaning which is exhibited in the New Testament, and thence passes into the common speech of the

Early Church. In the one religion of Jesus Christ there are mysteries ; our most holy faith has its secrets still. May not the inference be drawn that Christianity does not condemn seekers after God like Plato and Cicero for regarding the "mysteries" as a pure and ennobling part of their higher religious education? Yet even on this idea, so characteristic and so permanent, of the "secrecy" of religious truths, the leaven of Christian thought begins immediately to work. The negative elements in mystery pass away, the idea remains and has become strong as it is positive, fruitful and energetic, eternally conspicuous in Christian life and conduct.

The mystic of the ancient Greek world only became such after long probation and painful research. The "initiated" were few and far between. Theirs was, in a sense, a strait gate and a narrow way, sought by mere human effort painfully made ; and though in theory entrance was open to all, it was reserved practically to a leisured class. On the other hand, the characteristic secrets of the Faith were hidden from the wise and understanding, and were revealed unto babes. The "mysteries" have changed hands, and the sphere of possession has passed from head to heart. Another contrast follows by consequence. There was no doubt a freemasonry between those who were duly initiated into the ancient mysteries—a close corporation of the higher religious education. Their jealousy of any intrusion was intense. The last scene of probation was at night, the time chosen by the shrinking Nicodemus of the Gospel for learning the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven.

But the Christian "mystic" is a missionary. He cannot but speak the things which he has seen and heard. It was with this purpose they were revealed to him by the Divine love. Woe unto him if he did not so. Necessity was laid upon him as a child of the light.

It is time, however, to examine these questions by the

illumination cast upon them in and through New Testament phraseology. We at once note how frequent is the occurrence both of the idea and of the word "mystery." If St. John is above other writers filled with the former, St. Paul's closer contact with Greek life and thought took bold and free hold of the latter. But neither idea nor word is wholly foreign to any part of the New Testament. The references are as suggestive as they are full of variety. The idea is transfigured, the very word is transmuted, a flood of light falls, a golden treasury of meaning is discovered. The "mysteries" are not of this earth, not of human teaching or effort, but supremely of the Divine dealings with the children of men, they appertain to God's eternal counsels of mercy and truth, of righteousness and peace in sweet and indissoluble union.

Thus (without burdening this article with references to each passage), we observe throughout its pages, first, how "mystery" is inevitably employed with the problems of the presence of sin and evil in the world, of death, of judgment, of the final triumph of good.

Mystery was already consecrated by our Lord's own application to the things of the Kingdom of God, and of heaven. In apostolic lips it describes now the message of the Gospel, now the authoritative commission to proclaim its truths. The Incarnation, the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour, are declared to be its most speaking instances. The very Being of God is shown to be a mystery of the profoundest character, and all the Divine purposes for the human family are seen to be mysterious. It is not falling to a low level, rather it is, according to St. Paul, a great, a striking citation to refer to marriage as a mystery; for it must be this if it is once admitted as a symbol of the love betwixt Christ and His Church.

Again, the whole spiritual life and experience, the faith which animates, guides, and sustains it are mysterious;

every great and engrossing topic to which the thought of Christians turns, all that occupies their hearts in their holiest, happiest moments are mysterious verities; the whole together, rounded and complete in the faith once for all delivered to the saints is a mystery. And these mysteries, so apostolic teaching gravely warns us, need holy handling, they require careful and deliberate training. To preserve them truly, to distribute them rightly is itself an awful responsibility, a sacred stewardship and administration.

We have already seen that as the form of the word suggests the obscurity of the mystery, so its earliest historical associations impress upon it the sense of a secret. That sense survives strongly in New Testament phraseology. It is perhaps a startling paradox at first sight, that the Christian mysteries are "open secrets." He who is once possessed of them is, in all duty to His master, bound to reveal them. A suggestive and familiar definition of Richard Hooker may serve to explain the point. He defines preaching, as readers of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* will remember, as "the open publication of heavenly mysteries." Here, indeed, the contrast between the Pagan and Christian secrets is seen at its sharpest. It is seen also in the very sphere in which we should expect it to be drawn. A change has come over the spirit of the mysteries,—a change answering to a new origin and character, a change bearing upon life and conduct, upon service and effort.

The Christian mysteries are Divine truths, none the less real if expressed under symbols; none the less divine for the process of inter-communication—for their publication by man to man. The Christian mysteries are sacred secrets; a stranger to Christ does not, and cannot, possess them or intermeddle with them. These verities of the Christian faith are no longer sphinx-like puzzles which we must give up before we become utterly confused, but they are facts about which we steadily and courageously affirm that

we know not all, holding ever that there may be magnificent surprises in store hereafter for those that love and fear God, holding that we may, nay, we must, grow here in knowledge as in grace, and that much is meanwhile deliberately withheld as being in our present estate too wonderful and excellent for us. But does not New Testament phraseology strike in this issue also a new note of departure? Is it not so that already, according to the employment of the word, a significant modification of the meaning of mysteries is apparent? Do we not trace in this and that application of the expression the sense of their gradual and progressive revelation, until they, with all other secrets of the kingdom, are completely discerned in the light which will break upon all things, as upon ourselves, in the perfect day? Such a view, if not wholly warranted by the phrases of New Testament writers, finds at least some indirect support from the Christian literature of the third and fourth centuries. For here we find the term applied triumphantly to the speaking, living "sign" of the Eucharist, so that in the after ages to speak only of English theologians, men so removed both by circumstances and in sympathy as Bishop Butler and Richard Hooker, Newman, Mozley, and F. W. Robertson have grasped this twofold fact of the secrecy and the growth of heavenly mysteries, to the comfort of patient hearts, re-echoing the grand Pauline sentiment :

Now we see in a mirror—darkly,
Then face to face;
Now I know in part,
Then shall I know surely,
Even as also I am known.

Is it needful to draw the obvious lesson of the grave responsibility resting upon the Christian "mystic" of a true, that is a sober and unexaggerated, presentment of the secrets of his faith? To-day, when it is being assailed by every ingenuity of objection, it is a clear and imperative

duty not to make its saving truths less acceptable by crude insistence upon points which are not essential to them are, it may be of private interpretation, alas, sometimes the outcome of personal ignorance. We shall do more wisely, we shall publish these truths more effectively, not by declaring that our knowledge is yet complete, or our demonstrations mathematical; but by steady insistence that this knowledge is adequate for life. Too high for reason? Yes, a thousand times too high, these truths of the faith, but not too high to live and grow in grace by.

"Christianity not mysterious." It was a cry in the eighteenth century, it is being heard again in different accents to-day. The only way to answer such fascinating utterances, which are now more appropriately conveyed through fiction than by treatise, is to take apostolic counsel, to see that we hold these mysteries of our common faith in that gravity and proportionateness, that simplicity and earnestness, that intelligence and hope, that abounding charity implied in the far-reaching and compelling task and function of a pure conscience.

B WHITEFOORD.

THE PREMIER IDEAS OF JESUS.

III. SIN AN ACT OF SELF-WILL.

SIN is the ghost which haunts Literature, a shadow on human life, which no one admits he has seen, and which an hour afterwards asserts itself. Define sin with anything like accuracy, and it will be denied; be silent as if you had not heard of sin, and it will be confessed. Literature oscillates between extremes, and affords an instructive contradiction. As the record of human experience it must chronicle sin; as the solace of the individual, it makes a brave effort to ignore sin. You hear the moan of this calamity through all the work of Sophocles, but Aristophanes persuades you that this is the gayest of worlds, and both voices were heard in the same theatre beneath the shadow of enthroned Wisdom. Juvenal's mordant satire lays bare the ulcerous Roman life, but Catullus flings a wreath of roses over it, and they were both poets of the classical age. A French novelist, with an unholy mastery of his craft, steepes us in the horrors of a decadent society. A French critic, with the airiest grace, exclaims: "Sin, I have abolished it." Our own poet of unbelief has dared to write, revealing the thoughts of many hearts:—

"Alas, Lord! surely Thou art great and fair,
But, lo! her wonderfully woven hair;
And Thou didst heal us with Thy piteous kiss;
But see now, Lord, her mouth is lovelier."

Yet he also allows the secret to ooze out—

"The brief, bitter bliss one has for a great sin."

Literature has confessed this mysterious presence twice over, in the hopeless sadness of the austere school which acknowledges it, in the nervous anxiety of the lighter school which scoffs at it.

Philosophy has been; for the most part, distinguished by

its strenuous treatment of the moral problem, but has been visibly hampered by circumstances, being in the position of a court which cannot go into the whole case. Sin may be only a defect, then philosophy can cope with the position; but it is at least possible that sin may be a collision with the will of God, then Philosophy can afford no help. Spiritual affairs are beyond its jurisdiction; they are the department of Religion. Within the range of Philosophy the Race has not gone astray; it has simply not arrived—humanity is not diseased; it is only poorly developed. This deliverance is not the fault, it is the misfortune of morals, but it must always seem shallow and unworthy to serious minds. It creates the demand for Religion. If your chest be narrow, you go to a gymnast; if it be diseased, you go to a physician. It is easy to add three inches to the chest cavity; it is less easy to kill the bacilli in the lungs. There can indeed be no real competition between Philosophy and Religion, for the former cannot go beyond hygiene, and the latter must begin at least with therapeutics.

“The cardinal question is that of sin,” says Amiel, with his fine ethical insight; and if it be an essential condition in every religion that it deal with sin, then, excluding Judaism as a provisional and prophetic faith, there are only two religions. One is Christianity, and the other is Buddhism, and the disciples of Jesus need not fear a comparison. When Jesus and the founder of Buddhism address themselves to the problem of evil, the “Light of Asia” is simply a foil to our Master. He identified evil with the material influences of the body, as if a disembodied spirit could not be proud and envious; Jesus traced evil to the will, and ignored the body. He proposes to cleanse the soul by a life of meditation, as if inaction could be the nursery of character; Jesus insists on action, the most unrelenting and intense. Finally, the great Eastern held out the hope of escape from

individual existence, as if that were the last reward for the tried soul; our Master promised perfection in the kingdom of heaven. Both systems recognise the supreme need of the Race, which is a favourable omen: they differ in the means of its relief. Buddhism amounts to the destruction of the disease, and the extinction of the patient. Christianity compasses the destruction of the disease, and the salvation of the soul. Tried by the severest test of a Religion, Jesus alone out of all masters remains: He saves "His people from their sins" (St. Matt. i. 21).

Had Jesus never said one word, yet has He done more than all writers on sin, for His life was its everlasting exposure. As the undriven snow puts to shame the whitest garment, so was Jesus a new standard of holiness to His society, and as the lightning plays round the steel rod, so did the diffused wickedness of His time concentrate on His head. Pharisees in a heat of pseudo-morality became self-conscious, and slunk from His presence, who could not look at them (St. John viii. 9), and an honest man of vast self-conceit beheld in a sudden flash the moral glory of Jesus, and besought him to depart (St. Luke v. 8). Twice Jesus was carried beyond Himself by anger—once when St. Peter tempted Him to selfishness, and He identified the amazed apostle with Satan (St. Matt. xvi. 23); once when the hypocrisy of the Pharisees came to a head, and His indignation burst forth in the invective of history (St. Matt. xxiii.). He shudders visibly in the Gospels before the loathsome leprosy of sin, while His compassions lighten on the sinner, and in the same Gospels we see the hatred of the world culminate in the Cross, because Jesus did the works of God (St. John v. 19). The personality of Jesus called the principle of evil into full action, and sin was an open secret before His eyes.

The conventional history of sin has three chapters—origin, nature, treatment. It is characteristic of Jesus that

He has only two: He omits genesis, and proceeds to diagnosis. It is for an instant a disappointment, and in the next a relief: it remains for ever a lesson. Among all the problems upon which the human intellect has tried its teeth, the origin of evil is the most useless and hopeless, the most fascinating and maddening. Eastern religions have played the fool with it, Christian theology has laboured it without conspicuous success. Science has recently been dallying with it. It is a kind of whirlpool which sucks in the most subtle intellects, and reduces them to confusion. Jesus did not once approach the subject: He alone had the courage to leave it in shadow. As a consequence He has offered another pledge of His reasonableness, and removed a stumbling-block from the doctrine of sin. Jesus' silence did not arise from indifference to the law of heredity, for he traced the blind hostility of the Pharisees to the bigotry of their fathers, and saw in the sin of His crucifixion the legitimate outcome of ages of fanaticism (St. Matt. xxiii. 29-32). But He foresaw how the moral sense might be perverted by wild applications of the law, as when His disciples asked, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" (St. John ix. 2). Jesus would, no doubt, know the Rabbinical theory of Adam, although He escaped St. Paul's doubtful advantage, and had not been educated in the schools; but one feels by an instinct that Jesus' missing discourse on the "Federal Relationship" would not fit in well between the Sermon on the Mount, and the Farewell of the Last Supper. Jesus must have been taught the story of the Fall, and in after years He endorsed its teaching. He clothed that lovely idyll with a modern dress, and sent it out as the Parable of the Prodigal Son. It is always a startling transition from the theologians to Jesus, and it gives one pause that the supreme Teacher of religion did not deliver Himself on original sin. But it is a fact, and Jesus had His reasons.

For one thing, any insistence on heredity would have depreciated responsibility, and Jesus held every man to his own sin. Science and theology have joined hands in magnifying heredity and lowering individuality, till a man comes to be little more than the resultant of certain forces, a projectile shot forth from the past, and describing a calculated course. Jesus made a brave stand for each man as the possessor of will-power, and master of his life. He sadly admitted that a human will might be weakened by evil habits of thought (St. John v. 44) ; He declared gladly that the Divine Grace reinforced the halting will (St. John vi. 44) but, with every qualification, decision still rested in the last issue with the man. "If Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean," as if his cure hinged on the Divine Will (St. Matt. viii. 2). Of course, I am willing, said Jesus, and referred the man back to his inalienable human rights. Jesus never diverged into metaphysics, even to reconcile the freedom of the human will with the sovereignty of the Divine. His function was not academic debate, it was the solution of an actual situation. Logically men might be puppets ; consciously, they were self-determinating, and Jesus said with emphasis, "Wilt thou ?" (St. John v. 6).

Jesus had another interest in isolating the individual, and declining to comprehend him in the race—He compelled his attention. Nothing could have afforded the Pharisees more satisfaction than a discussion on sin. Nothing was more uncomfortable than an examination into their particular sins. A million needle points pressed together make a smooth substance, but one is intolerable. Jesus touched the conscience as with a needle prick, for which He received homage from honest men, and the cross from the dishonest. Before and since Jesus' day people have been invited to hold an inquest on the sin of Adam, and have discharged this function with keen intellectual interest. It was Jesus who made sin of even date, and invited every hearer to see the tragedy of Eden in his own experience.

If one be still disappointed with the marked silence of Jesus on the genesis of sin, let him find his compensation in Jesus' final analysis of sin. Our Master was not accustomed to lay down a definition, and make it a catch-word, or to propose a subject and expound it to exhaustion. He does not equip us with a theory to be associated with His name. His method was worthy of Himself, who alone could say, "Verily, verily," and was becoming to spiritual truth which is above theories. It was not the brilliant play of artificial light on a selected object; it was the rising of the sun on the whole sum of things, a gradual, silent, irresistible illumination before which one saw the wreaths of mist lift, and the recesses of the valleys laid open. As Jesus teaches, by allusions to sin in His discourses, by revelations of the state of holiness, by the clinical treatment of sinners, by incidental glimpses of His own experience in temptation, a complete and full-rounded idea of sin rises before the mind. His disciples hold it, for the most part, in unconsciousness; as soon as they identify it, Jesus' idea is verified.

Two teachers had attempted the diagnosis of sin before Jesus, and Jesus included their conclusions. Moses had wrought into the warp and woof of Jewish conscience the conviction that sin was a crime against the Eternal, and the Psalmists had invested this view with singular pathos. It mattered not what wrong a man did; it was in the last issue the heart of God he touched. And God only could loose him from the intolerable burden of guilt. Sin was not only the transgression of a law written on the conscience, it was a personal offence against the Divine love. Jewish penitence therefore was very tender and humble. "Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned." Jesus, in his Monograph on sin, incorporates this discovery (Ps. li. 4) when He makes the prodigal say, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and in Thy sight" (St. Luke xv. 21), and

when He teaches to pray, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us." Jesus took for granted that sin was a crime.

Plato made the next contribution to the science of sin. He approached the subject from the intellectual side, and laid it down, with great force, that if we knew more we should sin less; and if we knew all we should not sin at all. This view has been discredited by the reduction of knowledge to culture when it is at once contradicted by history, for the Renaissance, say in Italy, was a period of monstrous iniquity. Read vision for knowledge, and this view verifies itself, for if our human soul saw with clear eye the loathsome shape of moral sin and the fair proportions of moral beauty it would not be possible to sin. Jesus lends His sanction to Plato when the prodigal comes to himself, and, his delirium over, compares the far country, in its shame and poverty, with his father's home where the servants have enough and to spare. When Jesus insists "Repent," He makes the same plea, for repentance is awaking to fact. It is a change of mind (*μετάνοια*). Jesus also believed that sin was a mistake.

Where Jesus went beyond every other teacher was not in the diagnosis of sin: it was in its analysis. He was not the first to discover its symptoms or forms, but He alone has gone to the bottom of things and detected the principle of sin. Wherein does sin consist? is the question to which one must come in the end. Jesus has answered it by tracing down the varied fibrous growth of sins to its one root, and so, while there are many authorities on sins, there is only one on Sin. As when one sings, according to a recent beautiful experiment, on a mass of confused colours, and they arrange themselves into mystical forms of flower or shell, so Jesus breathes on life, and the phantasmagoria of sin changes into one plant, with root, and branches, and leaves, and fruit, all organized and consistent. Tried by

final tests, and reduced to its essential elements, Sin is the preference of self to God, and the assertion of the human will against the will of God. With Jesus, from first to last, Sin is selfishness.

It is the achievement of modern science to discover the unity of the physical world. It is one of the contributions of Jesus to reveal the unity of the spiritual world. Before His eyes it was not a scene of chance or confusion, but an orderly system standing on the "will of God." This was Jesus' formula for the law of the soul, which is the principle of thought—for the law of life, which is the principle of conduct. If any one did the "will of God," he was in harmony with the spiritual universe; if he did his "own will" he was out of joint. Consciously and unconsciously each intelligent being made a choice at every turn, either fulfilling or outraging the higher law of his nature, either entering into or refusing fellowship with God. Sin is not merely a mistake or a misfit; it is a deliberate mischoice. It is moral chaos.

Jesus' absolute consistency in His idea of sin appears both in the standard of holiness to which He ever appealed and in His fierce resistance of certain temptations. "Which of you convinceth Me of sin?" (St. John viii. 46) demanded Jesus in one of His sharpest passages with the Pharisees, and it was a bolder challenge than we are apt to imagine. Had Jesus not been able to refer to some law above the opinions and customs of any age, a law beyond the tampering of men,—and yet repeated within every man's soul,—He had been cast in that bold appeal. He had violated a local and national order at every turn, and incurred misunderstanding and censure. Had he responded to a higher order which is over all, and which a Pharisee, as much as Himself, was bound to obey? If it could be shown that He was guided by private ends, and that His life was an organized selfishness, then He must

be condemned, and the amen of every honest man would seal the sentence. But if His life was singular because it was not selfish and did not conform to this world, then He must be acquitted. Jesus was jealous on this point, and evidently watched Himself closely, from His repeated assertions of obedience to the Divine will. "Neither came I of Myself, but He sent Me." "I seek not Mine own glory." "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent Me." "I can of Myself do nothing; as I hear, I judge; and My judgment is just, because I seek not Mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent Me."

Jesus' passionate devotion to the Divine will and His crucifixion of self-will in its most refined forms can be clearly read in the fire of His temptations. From the wilderness to the garden Jesus seems to have been assailed by one trial expressly suited to His noble ends and unstained soul. He was not tempted to do His own work or to refuse the work of God, such temptations could never have once touched the Servant of God. But it was suggested to Jesus that He might fulfil His calling as the Messiah with far surer and quicker success if He did not die on the cross. Be an imperial Messiah, was in substance the temptation which arose before Jesus at the beginning of His public life, and which He described in such vivid imagery to His disciples (St. Luke iv. 5-7). He resisted it, because this kind of Messiah was not the will of God, and as the Cross began to rise before His eyes He accepted it as the "will of God." There are signs that Jesus had a Messianic idea, and that it did not embrace the Cross. We detect the inward strain ere Jesus' victory over self-will was complete. He set his face "stedfastly" (St. Luke ix. 51) to go to Jerusalem. He resented the suggestion of St. Peter with a sudden fierceness (St. Mark viii. 33). He was troubled in prospect of the cross (St. John xii. 27). He was oppressed for a time in the upper room (St. John xiii. 21). Beneath

the olive trees of the garden He had His last encounter with evil, and only when He said, "Nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done" (St. Luke xxii. 42) was the sinlessness of Jesus established.

Jesus cast His whole doctrine of sin into the Drama of the Prodigal Son, and commands our adherence by its absolute fidelity to life. The parable moves between the two poles of ideal and real human life—home, where the sons of God live in moral harmony with their Father, which is liberty,—and exile, where they live in riotous disobedience, which is licence. He fixes on His representative sinner, and traces his career with great care and various subtle touches. His father does not compel him to stay at home:—he has free will. The son claims his portion:—he has individuality. He flings himself out of his father's house:—he makes a mischoice. He plays the fool in the far country:—this is the fulfilling of his bent. He is sent out to feed swine:—this is the punishment of sin. He awakes to a bitter contrast:—this is repentance. He returns to obedience:—this is salvation. Salvation is the restoration of spiritual order—the close of a bitter experience. It is the return of the race from its "Wander Year."

Jesus rooted all sin in selfishness, but He distinguished two classes of sinners and their punishment. There was the Pharisee, who resisted God because he was wilfully blind and filled with pride. There was the Publican, who forsook God because he was led astray by wandering desires and evil habits. Sin, in each case, wrought its own punishment. For the Pharisee it was paralysis, so that he could not enter the kingdom (St. John iii. 3); for the Publican it was suffering, so that he must cut off the right arm and pluck out the right eye to obtain the kingdom (St. Matt. v. 29). Heaven, according to Jesus, was to be with God in our Father's house; hell was to be away from

God, in the far country. Each man carried his heaven in his heart—"the kingdom is within you" (St. Luke xvii. 21); or his hell in a gnawing remorse and heat of lust, "where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched" (St. Mark ix. 44).

It is reasonable to expect that Jesus' idea of salvation will correspond with His idea of sin, as lock and key, or disease and medicine, and one is not disappointed. According to Jesus, the selfish man was lost; the unselfish was saved, and so He was ever impressing on His disciples that they must not strive, but serve. He Himself had come to serve, and He declared that His sacrifice of Himself would be the redemption of the world. This is Jesus' explanation of the virtue of His death. It was an act of utter devotion to the will of God, and a power of emancipation in the hearts of His disciples. As they entered into His Spirit they would be loosened from bondage and escape into liberty. They would be no longer the slaves of sin, for the Son had made them free (St. John viii. 32). Jesus proposed to ransom the race, not by paying a price to the devil or to God, but by loosening the grip of sin on the heart and reinforcing the will. The service of His life and the sacrifice of His death would infuse a new spirit into humanity, and be its regeneration. "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." (St. Matt. xx. 28.) Within this one pregnant sentence Jesus states His doctrine of sin and salvation, and it offers three pledges of reality. It reduces the different forms of sin to a unity by tracing them all to self-will. It shows the ethical connection between the sin of man and the death of Jesus. And it can be verified in the experience of the saint, which is the story of a long struggle before his will becomes "the Will of God."

JOHN WATSON.

M. SABATIER'S LIFE OF S. FRANCIS.¹

M. PAUL SABATIER is one of those men of letters, unhappily rare in France, in whom ripe learning and fine critical sagacity are not divorced from a reasonable Christian faith. Trained in the "Faculté de théologie protestante de Paris," he has grown into the most brilliant scholar of his Church. No commentary on the *Didaché*, for instance, is more illuminating than the édition of that treasure trove which he published in 1885. And now he has given us a Life of S. Francis which may stand on the same shelf with Villari's Life of Savonarola.

In such a work, one main problem must obviously be to disentangle history from legend. M. Sabatier has devoted himself for several years past to an exhaustive study and collation of the original documents, among the scenes where they were first composed. He has ransacked Italian libraries, and especially the archives of Assisi. He has pilgrimaged over those Umbrian and Tuscan hills where the Order was cradled, exploring the traces of its beginning, and visiting whatever cells and convents shelter its remnants to-day. And he has written a book which can hardly fail to be monumental, because it collects and condenses the results of this patient and learned research, not only with a delicate acumen and sense of perspective characteristic of the best French scholarship, but also with a penetrating and impassioned sympathy for S. Francis himself.

M. Sabatier prefixes to his biography proper an elaborate "Étude critique des sources" (pp. xxx-cxxiv). This had already been attempted by Dr. Thode, in the appendix to his *Franz von Assisi*,² where, for instance, the critical value

¹ *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, par Paul Sabatier. Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1894.

² *Franz von Assisi, und die Anfang der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*. v. H. Thode. Berlin, 1885. It works out with great learning the theory—first

of Celano's "Second Life" was first pointed out. But the German wrote from a different standpoint, and bent his research towards another goal : moreover, he lacked the *finesse* of the French scholar, who discriminates, as no one had done hitherto, between the early lives of the Saint, by distinguishing the aim and bias of their several authors. M. Sabatier pronounces them all to be more or less *Tendenz-Schriften*, evoked by the struggles and divisions which convulsed the Order for half a century after its founder's death.

Even in the lifetime of Francis two opposing parties emerged from the extraordinary success of the new movement. It drew into its ranks a mass of more or less indifferent recruits, who soon lost or never possessed any true zeal for their vocation. But beyond these, the Franciscan spirit proper ran into two very different channels. On the one hand, there were the mystical enthusiasts for absolute poverty, who appealed to the authority of the Saint and his personal disciples, as well as to the strictness of the original Rule. On the other hand, the more moderate and practical men sought to make the Order an instrument of that Church reform which they sincerely desired ; these were willing to relax the severer precepts against corporate wealth, and to employ all lawful influences, especially the human wisdom which Francis deprecated, to attain their object. This party, which was strongest among the Brethren outside Italy, was consistently favoured by the popes. Indeed, the papal policy has always been fatally successful in capturing whatever fresh spiritual energies it was unable or unwilling to suppress, and in subduing them to its own ecclesiastical ends. Nothing in the life of Francis is so pathetic as his persistent, unavailing struggle for his ideal of simplicity and poverty, against the counsels of astute church-

broached early in this century by Goerres, and developed by Ozanam and historians of painting like Crowe and Cavalcaselle—that the renaissance art in Italy owed its real origin to the Franciscan movement.

men like Cardinal Hugolin and worldly Brothers like Elias of Cortona, who, when Francis died in 1226, remained the most commanding figure in the Order.

Briefly, M. Sabatier distinguishes his chief authorities as follows. The "First Life," by Thomas of Celano, written in 1228 by command of Gregory IX., is as a whole shaped and coloured to favour Elias, whom it represents as the natural successor of Francis. Eight years later Elias had been degraded through a re-action in favour of the pure and simple Rule. Accordingly, in 1246, there appeared the *Legenda trium sociorum*, by Ruffino, Angelo and Leo, close friends and intimates of the Saint. It amounts to a panegyric of poverty, a manifesto on behalf of fidelity to the letter and spirit of the primitive Rule. This finest of Franciscan documents has come to us sadly mutilated towards its close. M. Sabatier finds, however, important fragments of its suppressed portion embedded in the later *Speculum Vitæ S. Francisci*. In 1247 the "enthusiastic" party was strong enough to elect as minister-general John of Parma, who resembled Francis more than any other of his successors. Thomas of Celano was then commissioned to compose a "Second Life," which so far reflects the internal conflicts of the Order that its history becomes a thesis against those who would relax the strict rule of poverty.

In 1257 the tide had turned again, and Bonaventura was elected minister-general. An orthodox mystic, he moderated the extremes of both parties, reforming laxity and suppressing fanaticism. He was charged to write a fresh life of Francis, which was accepted in 1263 as the official and canonical biography. It is a storehouse of legend and miracle, amid which the personal human character of Francis almost disappears; his soul becomes a mere "theatre for visions," and his will a passive instrument of God.

M. Sabatier thus differs profoundly from the Bollandists

and Wadding in his estimate of Bonaventura's work. On the other hand, he sets high value on the celebrated *Fioretti* (1330-1380), which the Bollandists disdained. With all its disregard for facts, it embalms the popular local traditions of Umbria; and these, however fantastic in form, have fixed, with unerring instinct, on the crucial points in the Saint's character; they preserve to us that indescribable atmosphere, "half-childish, half-angelic," which Francis breathed. The *Liber Conformitatum* (1385-1389), of Bartholomew of Pisa, draws an elaborate parallel between the lives of Francis and of Christ. The more fanatical Franciscans had not been slow to develop out of the mystical apocalypse of Abbot Joachim the idea that Francis was really a re-incarnation of Jesus Himself, inaugurating the final era of the world. But the *Liber Conformitatum*, though tedious, is full of careful research; its numerous and exact quotations preserve long fragments of lost works on the Saint. M. Sabatier goes so far as to declare of this neglected book: "Je n'hésite cependant pas à y voir l'ouvrage le plus important qui ait été fait sur la vie de S. François."

M. Sabatier goes on to enumerate and sift every scrap of what can be called evidence bearing on his subject; but we have given his verdict on the really decisive documents. As one follows this study in criticism, one is irresistibly reminded of similar attempts, with a far slenderer basis, to estimate the relative values of the Evangelical "sources." We have been at some pains to mark the acumen and originality of M. Sabatier's appreciation of his authorities, because it leads him to transform the idea of the Saint which was presented by such weighty biographers as Wadding and Papini, who were content to harmonize their materials without due discrimination. It is very striking, and certainly refreshing, to find that we now arrive at a picture of the real S. Francis, much more like that which

has been fondly enshrined in the popular imagination of Italy.

We hasten to add that M. Sabatier's erudition never chokes his work with dry-as-dust details. His learned discussions are confined to the introduction, the appendices, and the notes; while the life itself is written with artistic skill. As we read it, we are brought into touch with a living man, in organic connection with his age. We come face to face with a real personality, so divinely inspired, and yet so endearingly human, that we begin to understand the secret of his power to sway and subdue the souls of men.

We have no space to follow M. Sabatier in his suggestive analysis of the social and religious world into which Francis was born—a world in some respects more remote from us than the world of Socrates or of Cicero. He describes the wide-spread spiritual revolt against clerical corruption at the close of the twelfth century, which showed itself in such different forms as the Poor Men of Lyons, the Manichean Catharists, and the mystic prophets of the "Eternal Gospel." These all ploughed the furrows in which Francis sowed.

No one before has brought out so clearly the fact that Francis was essentially a man of the people. He was the typical mediæval saint, who, like the Hebrew prophet, always stood contrasted with the priest, by virtue of the perpetual antithesis between new inspiration and old authority. Francis himself simply accepted such authorities as he found in Church and State. For his work was not with principalities and powers, but with the common multitude of humble men and women. Society in Italian cities was then divided into the "Majores" and the "Minores"—as we now say, the upper and the lower orders, the classes and the masses. So that the very name with which Francis baptized his "Fрати Minores" bore

eloquent witness as to where he felt that his vocation lay. He brought home to an astonished world the great forgotten fact that Christ had lived and died in poverty, preaching good news to the poor.

Yet the real test of M. Sabatier's book lies, not in his estimate of authorities nor in his analysis of environment, but in his treatment of the inner history of the Saint. And here, though there is still something to be desired, we are at least thankful for a frank and explicit recognition of spiritual realities. For such a life as this is simply inexplicable on any mere naturalistic hypothesis. A great new moral force breaks out among men : how can we account for it, unless we admit that it was " born from above," as it passionately professed to be? M. Sabatier does not hesitate to sum up the experience of Francis before the crucifix at St. Damien, which sealed his conversion, in words like these : " Pour le premier fois sans doute François venait d'être mis en contact, direct, personnel, intime avec Jésus Christ." Surely this is but to assign the true supernatural cause for that supernatural effect, which, beginning in one soul, quickened multitudes into a new life with God.

But with this faith in the powers of the world to come, M. Sabatier is very far removed from superstition, whether mystical or ecclesiastical. He feels that his subject need not be invested with any artificial aureole. He keeps as closely as possible to the facts of his history, and he draws with especial freedom on the actual words which come to us written by Francis himself. The book reprints the Italian original (which M. Renan declared non-existent) of the famous *Cantico delle Creature*, which Mrs. Oliphant has translated into English verse, in her charming book that has done so much to introduce and endear Francis to ordinary English readers. M. Sabatier does not admit that the other two Canticles *Amor di Caridade*, and *In foco l'amor mi mise*, can be attributed to the Saint, in their

present form. But he strongly defends the Testament of Francis as authentic, in spite of M. Renan's adverse verdict, and transcribes its most important paragraphs.

Nothing else admits us so closely into the sanctuary and secret of the heart of the dying man; just as the *Cantico* illustrates, better than any possible description, the exquisite naturalness and gaiety of spirit of this "poverello di Dio." His renunciation was for Francis no ascetic abstinence, but a vow of liberty. What other man enjoyed so fully the franchise of God's world and God's creatures? For it remains true, as à Kempis declared, that "he who seeks his own, loses those things which are common." And Francis could resign all personal aims and possessions with "the glad detachment of one whose heart and treasure are elsewhere."

Many other points rise up for notice in this fascinating biography—the relations of Francis with S. Dominic and S. Clare; his simple sagacity in founding his "Third Order"; the gift of song which made him a minstrel of God; the fragrance of the fields and woods which kept his devotion "aussi différent de la piété des sacristies, que de celle des salons"; and, above all, his supreme and touching humility, unsoiled amid the popular reverence which had practically canonized him before he died.

But there is one question which M. Sabatier's book is certain to provoke. Has not Francis his special message for our own generation? Nothing could be less like his attitude towards poverty than the attitude of modern prophets and reformers. The results of industrial civilization, and the characters which it breeds, are not so satisfactory that we can expect it, or perhaps even desire it, to prove permanent. But the present revolt against it aims chiefly at a more equal sharing of material goods. We are told constantly that economic must precede moral reform.

Now it is true, and M. Sabatier has admirably brought

out the neglected fact, that Francis did not contemplate a mere mendicant Order. By his original intention and rule, each brother was required, if possible, to learn and ply some trade and to work habitually for a subsistence. But if we know anything of his ideal, we know he would have recoiled, heart-sick, from any gospel of the greatest comfort for the greatest number. His remedy for poverty was not to abolish it, but to embrace it, to glory in it, and so to triumph over it. That mystical marriage which Giotto painted and Dante hymned points at least towards a nobler solution of our social problems than any "millennium of cakes and ale."

Moreover, Francis was singular not only in his ideals, but in his methods. He accepted unquestioningly the creed and discipline of the Church as he found it; he never attempted to be a theologian, and he was innocent of any plan of ecclesiastical reform. Reformers there were in his day, as there have been since, with "root-and-branch" schemes to reorganize the Church and the State. But that divine vocation which led Francis to the bottom of society bade him lay aside all the aids and instruments in which other men have put their trust. He turned away, not only from wealth, but from learning too. And what is learning after all but a kind of intellectual wealth? Have we a single word in the Gospels to show that Christ Himself set any greater value on education than He set on money? Francis at any rate was led into such literal imitation of his Lord, that he emptied himself of all that this world esteems, and went about among the wretched,¹ giving them only his own abounding love, and the good news of the love of God. And we see him, as poor, yet making many rich, as having nothing, and yet possessing all things. If "the

¹ Has not M. Sabatier omitted one factor in the mediæval feeling for lepers? Should he not quote the Vulgate of Isaiah liii. 4: "*Nos putavimus Eum quasi leprosum.*"

greatest gift a hero leaves his race is to have been a hero," we may affirm the same thing still more confidently of a saint. Not what he did, but what he himself was, constitutes the undying lesson, the invincible charm of the Saint of Assisi.

Emerson used to say that his judgment on any man depended on that man's judgment on John Brown of Harper's Ferry. There are surer touchstones of spiritual perception than the Abolitionist martyr; and perhaps our inward sympathy with Christianity is measured not unfairly by our appreciation of Francis. M. Renan goes so far as to declare that since Jesus Himself, Francis of Assisi has been the one perfect Christian. We cannot lay down M. Sabatier's book without feeling fresh point in M. Renan's further confession: "Francis has always been one of my strongest reasons for believing that Jesus was very nearly such as the Synoptic Gospels describe Him."

The story of the stigmata may, or may not be explained away. M. Sabatier is driven by the sheer weight of evidence to accept it as historic, though he does not discuss possible solutions of the phenomena.¹ The real miracle in any case lay in the inward likeness of which outward stigmata could be, at best, only a shadow. For this man did actually bear about in his body the dying of the Lord Jesus, so that the life also of Jesus was manifested in his mortal flesh. In the midst of a brutal age and a corrupt and superstitious Church, Christ was realized and revealed afresh in the lineaments of one, who, having seen His face, and heard His voice, arose, and forsook all, and followed Him.

I have already quoted M. Sabatier's verdict on the *Liber Conformatum*. I can only, in conclusion, repeat his words,

¹ *E.g.*, were the marks imprinted by Francis himself, in his spirit of child-like literal imitation? Were they one of those rare physical results of a spiritual ecstasy of which we had had some well-known and undeniable modern instances?

as the best sentence upon his own book: "Je n'hésite pas à y voir l'ouvrage le plus important qui ait été fait sur la vie de S. François."

T. H. DARLOW.

TRACHONITIS AND THE ITURÆANS.

IN the last two numbers of *THE EXPOSITOR*, Prof. Ramsay has discussed St. Luke's phrase: τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδὸς χώρας,¹ with the view of disproving Mr. Chase's interpretation, that Luke meant two distinct provinces, Ituræa and Trachonitis. Prof. Ramsay takes Ἰτουραίας as an adjective, and as overflowing Trachonitis, and maintains, in opposition to Prof. Schürer,² that the Ituræan territory and Trachonitis were partly the same region. I have nothing to say on the grammatical side of the question. But having had occasion (after a recent journey through parts of the districts discussed) to examine the authorities for the geography, I may be allowed not only to respond to Prof. Ramsay's request for a discussion on the limits of Trachonitis itself,³ but to go into the whole question at issue between him on the one side, and Mr. Chase and Prof. Schürer on the other.

Two preliminary remarks are necessary. *First*, every one who has worked at the geography of Eastern Palestine knows that it is characteristic of the names applied to the different parts of this region to have always been extremely elastic. This is not only true of the popular use of the names—for example, the use in the Old Testament of the names Bashan and Gilead, the use by Josephus of

¹ Luke iii. 1.

² *History of the Jewish People*. English Edition. Div. i., vol. i., Appendix i. *History of Chalcis, Ituræa and Abilene*.

³ *EXPOSITOR* for February, p. 148, note.

the name *Peræa*, or the present popular use of the name *Hauran*, all of which are applied now to a part, now to a whole, and frequently overlap other names. But it is true also of the official designations, as for example the *Kaimakamat* of *Jaulan*, which, forty years ago extended, according to Porter, much farther east than it does to-day, according to Schumacher. Names drift in Eastern Palestine, especially in its northern division between the *Yarmuk* and *Hermon*. They all overlap. Some have been wholly transferred from one district to another.¹ And tribes migrating, as tribes have always been doing across this lawless land, succeed in fastening their name upon a place that did not know it a few years before. Thus the *Druses* coming from *Lebanon* to the *Jebel Hauran* have practically changed its name in the mouth of the people to the *Jebel Druz*. I feel, therefore, strongly that it is impossible to be dogmatic on such a question as the limits of a name, or whether one name may not have covered another, as Prof. Ramsay maintains about *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*, even though these were originally distinct, as Prof. Schürer has, I think, clearly shown. And in particular, I should not be inclined to accept as readily as Prof. Ramsay does the evidence of Eusebius, of the beginning of the fourth century, for the nomenclature of this restless and chameleon land in the beginning of the first century.

But *secondly*, I distrust the evidence of Eusebius on other grounds. It is true that, as Prof. Ramsay says, he lived in the country, but he wrote on the other side of it, and even in Western Palestine he is sometimes mistaken. When Eusebius treats of places in Eastern Palestine, he is more than once in disagreement with the evidence of the local inscriptions. I should, therefore, hold that Prof. Ramsay's

¹ El Betheniyeh. The *Ard el Betheniyeh* has been shifted since the Arab geographers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, from the upper *Yarmuk* to the north-west of the *Jebel Hauran*.

principle—that “a distinct or positive statement by a competent witness like Eusebius, familiar with the country, cannot be set aside by such an elaborate chain of comparison and inference from inferior authorities as Dr. Schürer relies on”—does not apply here, for Eusebius has not been proved competent or familiar with the country even in his own day, and he lived too far from the period under discussion to be trusted about the then position of its names. Schürer's authorities are more nearly contemporary with Luke.

From these general remarks I pass to a discussion of our evidence for the two districts, and first take up Trachonitis. I will begin with the answer to Prof. Ramsay's question (p. 148 n. 1) as to whether Trachon and Trachonitis are identical.

Strabo talks of the “two so-called Trachons” lying behind, that is south of, Damascus.¹ The name is the only purely Greek name given in this region, and has entirely disappeared. But it is generally agreed that Strabo can only have meant the two great deposits of lava, “tempests of stone,” which lie to the south-east of Damascus—the Lejja and the Safa. Each of these gets the Arabic title of Wa'r, or rough stony tract, the exact equivalent of Trachon.² The more easterly Safa, being beyond the pale of civilisation, was little regarded, and the Lejja became known as the Trachon *par excellence*. This is confirmed by two inscriptions at Musmī'eh on its northern limit, and at Berêkeh on its southern. Musmī'eh was Phæna, which on a graven stone of the temple is called a *Μητροκομία*, or a chief town of the Trachon.³ Berêkeh is similarly designated.⁴ The Trachon then is undoubtedly the Lejja.

¹ xvi. 2, 20.

² Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860, pp. 36ff.

³ Burekhardt, *Travels in Syria*, p. 117. Le Bas and Waddington, *Inscriptions*, No. 2524.

⁴ Wadd., 2396. Therefore Merrill (*East of Jordan*, p. 20) is wrong in trans-

But Josephus, who uses the term Trachon in XV. *Antiquities*, x. 1, along with Batanea and Auranitis to describe the territory gifted by Augustus to Herod in 23 B.C., employs in the parallel passage, I. *Wars*, xx. 4, the name Trachonitis.¹ Obviously, however, this is a wider term than Trachon, and presumably to be understood as Trachon *plus* the territory around. Indeed Josephus, again speaking of part of Herod's territory, uses the phrase, XVI. *Antt.*, iv. 6, "part of his dominions about Trachon." And again, from XV. *Antt.*, x. 3, it is probable, though by no means certain, that Trachon, which is there described as being separated from Galilee only by "Ulatha (the district to the east of Lake Huleh) and Paneas and the country round about," extended westwards from the edge of the Lejja, for neither Ulatha nor the territory of Paneas could have come so far east as the latter. Our only other data² for this period are Ptolemy v. 15, 4, a passage which speaks of the *Τραχωνίται Ἀρραβες* under Alsadamus, the present Jebel Hauran, and thus indicates that Trachonitis extended also south-east of the Lejja; and Philo, who, it is well to note, uses the name for the *whole* tetrarchy of Philip.³

We find, then, that about the period under discussion, Trachon was the name of the Lejja and that Trachonitis (for which Trachon was sometimes used) was the Lejja *plus* some neighbouring territory. The most important things to observe are *first*, that on the north-west Trachonitis marched with "Ulatha, Paneas, and the country round about," for we shall see that these may have borne the name Ituræa, and *secondly*, that Trachonitis

lating *μητροκομία* as if it were *μητρόπολις* and in taking Phæna as the capital of the Trachon.

¹ Trachonitis also occurs in XV. *Antt.*, x. 1, a few lines lower than Trachon.

² Josephus, XVII. *Antt.*, ii. 1, 2, merely defines Trachonitis as bounded on the south by Batanea. Eusebius gives it as in his day north-east of Bostia, south of Damascus, and on the desert.

³ *Legat. ad Cajum*, § 41.

could be used in a loose way for all the tetrarchy of Philip.

We turn now to Ituræa. Here, again, we are in the same difficulty as with Trachonitis, that we have no modern echo of the name to guide us.¹ In ancient times the Ituræans were a distinct, emphatic race of men. They had much fame as archers, and move through the whole Roman world, sung by Virgil and Lucan,² fighting with Cæsar in Africa,³ rattling with their arrows through the very forum, a body-guard for Mark Antony, while Cicero cries out against the insult to the Senate.⁴ They were wild bordermen between Syria and Arabia, to both of which they were reckoned by ancient writers, and Schürer has put it past doubt that their home lay on the Anti-Lebanon, while the sway of their ruler extended over Lebanon to the sea.⁵ That justifies Prof. Schürer in speaking of the Ituræans as of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, to which language Prof. Ramsay objects as ambiguous (p. 147). The hills to the east of the Beka', or hollow between the Lebanons,

¹ Jédûr جیدور, which is the name of the plain to the north of Hauran, has been quoted by many (Robinson, Conder, etc.) as the equivalent of Ituræa, but why it is hard to conceive; the initials of the two are quite different.

² Virg., *Georg.*, ii. 448. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vii. 230, 514. Reland quotes Vibius Sequester *de Gentibus*, "Ithyrei Syri usu sagittæ periti."

³ *Bellum Afric.*, 20.

⁴ *Philippics*, ii. 19, 112; xiii. 18. He calls them barbarians, and cries out, "they filled these benches!"

⁵ Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, Eng. ed., div. i. vol. ii., Appendix i.: "The History of Chalcis, Ituræa, and Abilene. His evidence for Anti-Lebanon is four-fold. (1) Josephus, XIII. *Antt.*, xi. 3, places the Ituræan country in the north of Galilee, in 105 B.C. (2) On an inscription of about 6 A.D. (alluded to by Prof. Ramsay, p. 147) Q. Æmilius Secundus relates that being sent by Quirinius "adversus Ituræos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi" (*Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 1881, 537-542). (3) Dion Cassius (xlix. 32) calls Lysanias king of the Ituræans, and the same writer (lix. 12) and Tacitus (*Ann.*, xii. 23) calls Soemus governor of the same; but Lysanias ruled the Lebanon district from the sea to Damascus, with his capital at Chalcis, and Soemus was tetrarch at Lebanon (Josephus, *Vita*, xi.). (4) Above all, Strabo puts the Ituræans in Anti-Lebanon.

were called the highlands of the Ituræans.¹ In 105 B.C., Josephus tells us, their territory bordered with Galilee, —Schürer thinks the name came down over part of Galilee at that time, but this is improbable.² Now, if the name thus spread down the slopes of Anti-Lebanon south-west towards Galilee, it is quite possible that it also spread down the same slopes south-east upon the district of Paneas, and even eastwards towards Trachonitis.³ The Ituræans were of a wild Ishmaelite stock.⁴ Strabo speaks of them as mixed with Arabs, and as inhabiting the same inaccessible highlands as the Arabs.⁵ Such language cannot refer to the main range of Anti-Lebanon, but must mean districts to the east of that, and, therefore, we have to conclude, I think, that the Ituræan people extended a good deal farther east than Schürer seems willing to admit. How far is precisely what we cannot determine. At the same time Strabo never confuses, but indeed carefully distinguishes the two Trachons from the parts occupied by Ituræans and Arabs together.

We may, therefore, conclude with Prof. Schürer that the Ituræans, though scattered towards Trachonitis, and per-

¹ Strabo, xvi. ii. 16 : τὴν Ἰτουραίων ὄρειν. 18 : τινὰ καὶ ὀρεινὰ ἐν οἷς ἡ Χαλκὶς ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Μασσούου (i.e. the Bekā').

² Josephus, XIII. *Antt.*, xi. 3. I had written above that Josephus calls the Ituræan region Ἰτουραία, which is the reading in Dindorf's text in all the older edd. I have access to (e.g. Hildson's, and the Amsterdam ed.) This reading, if established, would have proved the possibility of Luke's use of the word as a noun. But as Prof. Ramsay, has kindly pointed out to me, the reading of Niese, the last editor of Josephus (as well as of Naber in Teubner) is Ἰτουραῖα, which (though I think it has no greater documentary evidence) is, as Prof. Ramsay says, more grammatical than the other. This passage in Josephus, therefore, cannot be used as a proof. If the possibility of Luke's use of Ἰτουραῖα as a noun.

³ The border of the Lejja is only 28 miles from the skirts of Anti-Lebanon.

⁴ They are no doubt the same as the יִטְרוֹי, Jetur, of Gen. xxv. 15, mentioned among other Ishmaelite tribes of Arabs. Cf. 1 Chron. i. 30, v. 19.

⁵ xvi. ii. 18 : τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀρεινὰ ἔχουσι πάντα Ἰτουραῖοι τε καὶ Ἀραβες. 20 : ἔπειτα πρὸς τὰ Ἀράβων μέρη καὶ τὰν Ἰτουραίων ἀναμὲξ ὄρη δύσβατα.

haps up to its very borders, occupied a distinct and separate land.

About 25 B.C., however, political influences drew the country of the Ituræans and Trachonitis together. One Zenodorus "leased the house of Lysanias,¹ King of the Ituræans,"² which included Ulatha and Paneas, and the country round about, and at the same time he had some undefined authority over Trachonitis. He exerted this latter so loosely or unjustly that Augustus took it from him and gave it to Herod³ with Batanea and Auranitis. When he died Augustus gave Herod the rest of his dominion, the Ituræan portion, so that again, that is in B.C. 20, the Ituræan territory, at least in part, and Trachonitis were under the same ruler. At Herod's death Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, with "a certain part of what was called the House of Zenodorus, about Paneas," formed the tetrarchy of Philip.⁴

This "certain part of the House of Zenodorus about Paneas," was, as we have seen, almost certainly overrun by Ituræans, and therefore not unlikely to receive the name Ituræan. If Josephus applied the name to northern Galilee, why should not Luke apply it to the corresponding district on the east of Jordan, which lay even more closely under the eaves of the Ituræan house in Anti-Lebanon?

It seems to me, then, proved, that Luke's words, *τῆς Ἰτροπαίας*, which Josephus used as a noun, are found to be applicable to the portion of Philip's tetrarchy round the foot of Anti-Lebanon, and as far as the border of Trachonitis. It is not proved, that, as Prof. Ramsay suggests, the name extended into and over Trachonitis, so as to have become one with it. At the same time this

¹ Josephus, XV. *Antt.*, x. 1; I. *Wars*, xx. 4.

² Dion Cassius, xlix. 82.

³ See above.

⁴ Josephus, XVII. *Antt.*, xi. 4; II. *Wars*, vi. 8.

was not impossible. The names almost certainly touched, and in that country names that touch have always been names that overlap. Philo, we have seen, extends the name Trachonitis across the whole of Philip's tetrarchy, including, it is to be presumed, the Ituræan portions. And, conversely, so hardy a race as the Ituræans, and so Arab a race, mingling with the Arabs, and likely, when their robber seats on the Lebanon were taken from them,¹ to fly eastwards to the inaccessible Trachons, may have migrated into Trachonitis proper and carried their name with them. If they did so, it would be no more than the Druses, their successors in Lebanon, and by some thought to be their descendants, have done during the present century. The Jebel Hauran is also called the Jebel Druz.

The geographical evidence, then, really amounts to a *non liquet*. Ituræa and Trachonitis were originally distinct territories. We have no proof that their names ever overlapped, but at the same time many analogies indicate how easily they could have done so.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

¹ In 6 A.D.

THE SHEPHERD, GOD AND MAN.

HEB. XIII. 20, 21.

1. THERE is no peace but that which God makes through His Son. That He might bring us peace, Christ took the ancient words into His lips, "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God!" and, entering with full sacrifice into His Father's will, made the reconciliation which ends the long strife between man and God. His death is the consummation of obedience, the last descending sweep which completes the bond of unity. Now a circle, strong as love, runs from heaven to the grave, from the grave again to heaven. The calm of His eternal will flows into our troubled life. The obedience of the Second Man constrains our faith, insures our faithfulness.

2. There is an interweaving of the grace and work of Christ with those of the Father. All is of God; yet Christ is the Great Shepherd of the sheep. The Son must pour out His soul unto death for our redemption; yet God the Father brings Him from the dead. The simplicity of the union between the Divine and the human in the person of Christ bewilders us. Our laboured theology misses its point. Where we mark off a boundary, there is none. God brings Christ from the dead by the blood which Christ Himself poured forth. The Father makes us perfect through the Son who is the Author and Perfecter of our faith, Himself the first and the last—the living One. Let us not separate the inseparable. Let us not say, Here is the Man Christ Jesus: there far above Him is the Father. It is all the heroic Man, and, equally, all the loving, generous, more than heroic God. And who can be the Great Shepherd of the sheep, but that same gracious Friend of the lowly whom David trusted long ago in the valley of the shadow of death?

God here, man there—that does not descriminate the Father from the Son at any point, in any hour of redeeming activity—in sorrow, pain, or shame, joy, hope, or majesty. We have our Christ in all the lowliness of His manhood, and our God there also. We have our fellow man, Christ, in His passion and death, and there also we find His Father and ours. Therefore, our hope in Christ is hope in God. Our Christianity is faith in the life and love of the Eternal.

3. The prayer, "Make you perfect." Perfect in every good thing to do the Father's will. Bright possibility! Heavenly ideal! Could you ask the rose of its dreams and desires, when it awakes in spring-time, would it not answer, "To set on every twig a cluster of blossoms, with the fire of the rising sun and the soul of sweet odour in each of them; to go on yielding them, my tribute to Him who makes lovely things, the rose among the loveliest, to deck His world"? Our hope goes forth where the beauty of the Son of Man reveals the perfect type; and this prayer guides and sustains the desire of the Christian to yield the blossoms and fruit of holy life.

To do the will of God like Him who said, "Lo, I come to do Thy will, O God." It is the cross bearing its fruit—our crucifixion with Christ to the world; our consecration, in the deepest springs of will and power, with Christ to the Father. The salvation of the redeemed soul is by Him who brought again from the dead the great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant. He brings us from death by our conformity to the death of His Son. We are raised with Christ, and our affections are set on the things above; then there is peace. Our will and life are in the ocean-stream of Divine love that makes the climate of this world genial and creates the Paradise beyond.

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THE PROPHETS AND SACRIFICE.

MUCH as those who have been willing to learn, have learned from the later critical school of Old Testament interpreters, there is one point at which many have stumbled, and that is their teaching with regard to sacrifice. According to them, the prophets had no esteem for it as a part of the true religion. Instead of valuing it, they repudiated it, and their utterances in regard to it, formerly taken to be only strongly rhetorical condemnations of sacrifice as a substitute for morality and penitence, are to be pressed as rejections of any obligation to sacrifice at all. And the reasons why this teaching is hard to receive are plain. In all ancient religions sacrifice was indispensable. So far as is known, no other mode of worship suggested itself to many nations, and all the evidence would seem to show that the Semitic races especially could not have conceived a regular and stated approach to God without it. Further, in the later religion of Israel, the intimate connection established between sacrifice and the forgiveness of sins is not only manifest, but it is fundamental, and in passing to Christianity, that more than retains its importance, for, hitherto, the dominating thought of Christian theology has been the sacrificial and atoning nature of the death of Christ. *A priori*, therefore, it seems to many hardly likely that the religion of Jehovah should have been meant to be from the beginning independent of the one universally understood mode of worship, or that the foundation of the thought which has in the long run proved dominant in true religion should have been, during the whole history of Israel as a nation, regarded as an inheritance from heathen-

ism which was merely coldly tolerated. Of course, it is *possible* that it may have been so. It may be that sacrifice was in no way a condition of the Divine covenant with Israel; that the prophets denounced it when it was put forward as such; but that after the exile it was adopted by the prophets even, as essential, and thus came to be the central idea of Christianity. Moreover, it is quite possible to hold that view, and still to hold firmly the New Testament connection between sacrifice and forgiveness; but though these things are possible they are not easy, and the difficulty of holding such a position has suggested a re-examination of the question.

To illustrate the critical position, I shall quote from Professor Robertson Smith, not only because he is the writer to whom in this whole matter I am most indebted, but also because the lucidity and power with which he habitually states his views, and his reverently religious spirit relieve criticism of one half its difficulty. In *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd Ed. p. 293, he states his view thus: "Spiritual prophecy in the hands of Amos, Isaiah, and their successors has no such alliance with the sanctuary and its ritual" as mere official prophecy had. "It develops and enforces its own doctrine of the intercourse of Jehovah with Israel, and the conditions of His grace, without assigning the slightest value to priests and sacrifices." He then quotes Isaiah i. 11 *seq.* and Amos v. 21 *seq.*, and proceeds thus: "It is sometimes argued that such passages mean only that Jehovah will not accept the sacrifice of the wicked, and that they are quite consistent with a belief that sacrifice and ritual are a necessary accompaniment of true religion. But there are other texts which absolutely exclude such a view. Sacrifice is not necessary to acceptable religion. Amos proves God's indifference to ritual by reminding the people that they offered no sacrifice and offerings to Him in the wilderness during those forty

years of wandering which he elsewhere cites as a special proof of Jehovah's covenant grace (Amos ii. 10, and v. 25). Micah declares that Jehovah does not require sacrifice; and He asks nothing of His people, but to do justly and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God" (Micah vi. 8). And Jeremiah vii. 21 *seq.* says in express words, "Put your burnt offerings to your sacrifices and eat flesh. For I spake not to your fathers, and gave them no command in the day that I brought them out of Egypt concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people," etc. (Comp. Isa. xliii. 23, *seq.*). The position here laid down is perfectly clear. When the prophets positively condemn the worship of their contemporaries, they do so because it is associated with immorality, because by it Israel hopes to gain God's favour without moral obedience. This does not prove that they have any objection to sacrifice and ritual in the abstract. But they deny that these things are of positive Divine institution, "or have any part in the scheme on which Jehovah's grace is administered in Israel. Jehovah, they say, has not enjoined sacrifice." Again at p. 303: "What is quite certain is that, according to the prophets, the Torah of Moses did not embrace a law of ritual worship by sacrifice, and all that belongs to it is no part of the Divine Torah to Israel."

In proceeding to test the question whether Jeremiah, and the author of Micah vi., and Amos, teach that God never commanded sacrifice, that it formed no part of the Mosaic Torah, or not, I would start from the book of Deuteronomy, written, as is now generally believed, in the period between the beginning of Manasseh's reign and Josiah. The author of Micah vi. was probably an older contemporary of its author, and Jeremiah took an active part in the reforms which it occasioned. Let us see then whether they are likely to have held the views attributed

to them. As every one will admit, Deuteronomy commands sacrifice in the name of Moses and in the name of God. Now, in chap. x. v. 12, we have its version of the Divine requirements. "And now, Israel, what doth Jehovah thy God require of thee, but to fear Jehovah thy God, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of Jehovah and His statutes which I command thee this day for thy good." The commandments and statutes here referred to are those contained in Deuteronomy, chaps. 12-26, and include the commands regarding sacrifice. But if so, from the time of Isaiah, when Deuteronomy was accepted by the nation as the completest expression of the will of God, the view that ritual and sacrifice as well as penitence were essential things in true religion, and had been Divinely commanded, must have been known, and not only known, but accepted as the orthodox opinion. Now, whatever the prophets before that time may have felt, those who lived after it must have accepted this view, unless they denied to Deuteronomy the authority which it claimed, and which the nation conceded to it. But Jeremiah was among that number, and he least of all can be supposed to have repudiated the authority of the newly found book. He had helped to introduce it. His style and thought are so closely moulded on it that some have even thought he may have been its author. How then is it possible that in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, when he wrote the above-quoted passage, viz. vii. 21 *seq.*, he should have meant to repudiate with energy the very teaching which he had welcomed as from God in Josiah's day. Professor Robertson Smith¹ escapes the difficulty by saying, indeed, that while Jeremiah accepted the moral precepts of the Deuteronomic code as part of the covenant of the Exodus, he does not regard it in the light of a posi-

¹ *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 371.

tive law of sacrifice. "The ritual details of Deuteronomy are directed against heathen worship; they are negative, not positive." But, putting aside the difficulty that, even so, sacrifice would be implicitly if not explicitly a part of the covenant of the Exodus and therefore implicitly commanded, we have to ask in what way the command to sacrifice is negative in Deuteronomy? It is quite true that the 12th chapter states first the heathen manner of worship, which is to be put an end to, and proceeds thus: "Ye shall not do so unto Jehovah your God, but unto the place which Jehovah your God shall choose . . . thou shalt come, and thither shall ye bring your burnt-offerings and your sacrifices, and your tithes," etc. So far sacrifice is only taken for granted, but how is v. 11 to be interpreted: "Thither shall ye bring all that I command you, your burnt-offerings, and your sacrifices, and your tithes, and the heave-offering of your hand, and all your choice vows which ye vow unto Jehovah"? Clearly it means that burnt-offerings, sacrifices, tithes and heave-offerings, are regular dues commanded by Jehovah in distinction from vows which are not commanded. Moreover, the word used for commanding is *צִוָּה*, consequently it is a Mitzwah that these sacrifices, etc., should be brought, and the Mitzwoth in Deuteronomy are distinctly and always part of the covenant between Israel and Jehovah. That this interpretation is not strained, is made clear by other passages. The people are absolutely commanded to bring sacrificial tithes (chap. xiv. v. 22 *seq.*), and to sacrifice the firstlings of their flocks (chap. xv. 19 ff). The truth is, that while sacrifice is mentioned in Deuteronomy mainly because the author wished to direct that it should be carried on at one central sanctuary, it is so mentioned as to imply that it is an acknowledged part of Israelite religion, and in the passages quoted is distinctly asserted to have been commanded by God. Consequently, to repudiate sacrifice as commanded

by God is to repudiate Deuteronomy, and I must confess that almost any interpretation of this passage would, for me, be preferable to one which wrought such havoc with the prophet's consistency and cast such contempt upon the words of men of God who had preceded him. Disappointment at the death of Josiah, unless it reached the point of absolute unfaithfulness to Jehovah, cannot explain it. The very utmost that could be said on that score is what Professor Cheyne has said in his *Jeremiah*, p. 107. There he expresses the view that after the great catastrophe, while one party returned to idolatry, is that which had previously given prosperity, another took up the old rationalistic view, that the cause of the disaster was that sacrifice had not been sufficiently insisted upon in Deuteronomy. In opposition to this last view, Jeremiah ceased to emphasize the priestly side of the book, and "confined himself to reproducing its moral spiritual and more prophetic portions." But that is a very different thing from denying that sacrifice had ever had any positive Divine command behind it. For Jeremiah, I venture to think, such a position was impossible, and, as we shall see immediately, there is no need to put any such interpretation on his words.

With regard to the passage in Micah, the case is not so clear, but while there is nothing compelling us to interpret utterance as a repudiation of sacrifice, there is much that bars such an interpretation. The author of the 6th chapter of Micah is supposed to have lived some time in Manasseh's reign. If so, he would probably be a contemporary of the author or editor of Deuteronomy. In any case, we may presume that he would be affected by the general ideas which were then current among the faithful servants of Jehovah. Now, we know that precisely at that time prophets and priests were drawing nearer to each other than perhaps ever before, and the views embodied in

Deuteronomy were the programme of this alliance. If then this prophet means by this passage to exclude the view that sacrifice was part of the Divine Torah for Israel, he must have stood alone in those days, and not only alone, but in pronounced opposition to his own party. In Manasseh's time that is scarcely possible. When Jerusalem was filled "from lip to lip" with the blood of martyrs, and all faithful men had to go into hiding, the probability is that they were welded into perfect unity. If not, then hostility must have assumed that fierce and embittered tone which has always distinguished the internecine strifes of a small and persecuted party, and would have expressed itself with a force and directness which is quite absent here. All the circumstances, therefore, are hostile to Prof. Robertson Smith's view of the passage, and unless there are strongest reasons in the passage itself binding us to that view, I do not think it should be entertained.

But if we cannot show by Deuteronomy that the author of Micah vi. *must* have held the view that sacrifice had been commanded by Jehovah, we can show that both he and Amos must have done so by reference to the previous law. Almost all the legislation contained in Deuteronomy is a mere repetition, with adaptations to new times, of the law contained in the Book of the Covenant. Now, in that, altars of sacrifice are provided for, and the provision stands at the head of the special laws which immediately follow the Decalogue. Further, the offering of first-fruits, the ritual requirement of three great yearly feasts, and the direction, "Thou shalt not offer the blood of MY sacrifice with leavened bread, neither shall the fat of MY feast remain all night unto the morning," are contained in this first legislation. Consequently, no prophet, writing after these laws were put in force and regarded as Mosaic, could possibly say that sacrifice had not been positively enjoined. But the Book of the Covenant is put down by advanced

critics like Cornill as "den Niederschlag des Gewohnheitsrechtes der älteren Königszeit," the deposit of the customary law of the earlier regal period, and is assigned to the beginning of the 9th century at latest. Hillel, on the other hand, would put it before the regal period, and E, in which it is embedded, before Amos. In either case, it was long before any of the writing prophets, so that Amos even, much more the author of Micah vi., can hardly have meant to declare that sacrifice had never been enjoined by Jehovah. The Elohist inserts it in his book as ancient Mosaic law, and there can be no reasonable doubt that Amos and all the prophets regarded it as such. In any case, it was binding law, divinely given, and as it contains commands for sacrifice, as well as directions for ritual, they cannot have meant to deny that. The fully developed ritual law of Leviticus, therefore, may have been unknown to the prophets, probably was so, but some Divine enactments in regard to sacrifice must have been known to them all. Nor does it weaken this fact at all, that the directions of sacrifice and ritual contained in the first Deuteronomic legislations may well have been taken over from pre-Mosaic times. A great proportion of the custom and law which ruled the life of Israelites as the people of Jehovah was taken over in that very way; but it was none the less Mosaic and divinely given on that account. All that Moses sanctioned of ancient practice and custom was lifted up into the sphere of the true religion, and the distinction so many now make between that which was of purely Mosaic origin and that which was only adoptively so, is one which is not known, I venture to think, to the Old Testament writers. All their law was equally from Jehovah whatever its immediate source or its date may have been, since those in Jehovah's confidence had promulgated it on lines which Moses had laid down.

But on general grounds also we must come to the same conclusion. When the full Levitical law was introduced, sacrifice was doubtless made more prominent than it had been before, and its significance was deepened, but it can hardly have been then first enjoined as a necessary part of the cultus. For no religion in ancient times could exist without sacrifice. So far as is known, that was the universal way in which religious feeling expressed itself. From the day that Israel became Jehovah's people, and He was acknowledged as their God, sacrifices must have been offered to Him; indeed a sacrifice to Him was the occasion of their asking permission to go into the wilderness; and had there been no mention of them, we should have had to fill them in as one of the necessities of the position. Moreover, the priestly lot itself presupposes sacrifice. The direction the priests gave was supposed to come from Jehovah at their particular shrine. It was because of the peculiar nearness of God to this place that they could give it, and this nearness of God, this communion with Him, was kept up by sacrifice. The whole direction of moral life, consequently, was inseparably bound up with sacrifice. Robertson Smith himself asserts this in his *Semitic Religion*. "Within a sacred land or tract," he says, "it is natural to mark off an inner circle of intenser holiness, where all ritual restrictions are stringently enforced." "Such a spot of intenser holiness becomes the sanctuary or place of sacrifice, where the worshipper approaches the god with prayers and gifts, and seeks guidance for life from the divine oracle." And this combination of sacrifice and oracle was peculiarly congruous with Hebrew ideas. Whenever a Theophany is mentioned in Scripture, those who behold it offer sacrifice, and wherever Jehovah had once revealed Himself, He might be again expected, and sacrifice might be offered there (Exod. xx. 24). Even Wellhausen seems to admit this when he says (*History of Israel*, p. 397), "If Moses did

anything at all, he certainly founded the sanctuary at Kadesh and the Torah there." If oracle, then, was an essential part of the religion of Jehovah, sacrifice must have been so also ; and on this line of proof, too, the belief that Jehovah had never commanded sacrifice would seem to be refuted. It is true, of course, that there is no distinct assertion in either the Book of the Covenant or in Deuteronomy of the immediate and intimate connection between forgiveness of sin and sacrifice established by the Levitical law. Sacrifice is rather dealt with as a part of the divinely appointed way of approaching Jehovah acceptably than as a special provision for atonement, reconciliation between God and man. If, therefore, the view we had been combating had been limited to this, that sacrifice had existed before Mosaism, that it was commanded by Jehovah only in the sense that it was taken over and stamped with approval as part of the Mosaic system, but that the deep atoning significance which it has in the Levitical legislation was not at first attached to it, much might be said for it. Further, it is obvious that this is all that is necessary for the establishment of the critical position in regard to the date of the Levitical law as we now have it. But when the prophets are said to deny to sacrifice and ritual any divinely given place in the religion of Israel, the denial is pushed too far, and overreaches itself.

But if the interpretation put upon the crucial passages we have been discussing by the latest critical school is to be rejected, in what sense ought they to be taken ? The passage in Micah is perhaps the strongest for the opposite view, for though it does not state that sacrifice had never been divinely commanded, it does seem to declare that Jehovah does not now require it, and we shall take that first. The prophet represents Jehovah as calling His people to judgment before the world of nature. In *vv.* 2-4 He shows that He has been true to His part of the covenant. In *vv.* 6 and 7 the

people, touched by this exhibition of His goodness, ask anxiously and penitently what they can do to please Him. If multiplicity of offerings, and rivers of oil, or even the lives of their first-born children would be acceptable, they would gladly give them. This shows so miserable a misapprehension of Jehovah's character as a moral being, such a slavish view of their relation to Him, that He does not answer them. Then the prophet exhorts them, saying that being as he had described them to be, utterly ungodly and immoral in their conduct, while thinking that their standing with Jehovah is secured by their sacrifices, not more ritual zeal, but "to do justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with God," are the things Jehovah demands of them at this crisis in their history. There is no repudiation of sacrifice *per se*. The question of its origin and value does not seem to me to be raised at all. The thing God requires of this people at this time is obviously not sacrifice—they were only too zealous about that side of their duty already—it is justice and mercy and faith they are deficient in, and Jehovah's demand upon them is for these things. That is in itself a perfectly fair interpretation; and seeing that the existence of the Book of the Covenant before this forbids us to believe that the Prophet means that sacrifice was no part of true religion, I think we must accept it. Moreover, so taken, this passage is entirely in harmony with the parallel one in Deuteronomy x. 12 and 13. Both express the same protest against trust in mere sacrifice without true fear of Jehovah and regard for His laws. The only difference is that in Micah, as is natural in a passage so highly rhetorical, the alternative is stated less guardedly, and with less reserve than in the introduction to the revised law. As for Jeremiah vii. 21-23, there are two ways of interpreting it legitimately. The prophet may mean, as has ordinarily been supposed, that Jehovah, when He brought the people out of Egypt,

gave no command concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices comparable in emphasis with that by which he enjoined them to obey His voice. The figure of speech employed would in that case be entirely scriptural—parallel to that exemplified in our Lord's words, "If any man cometh unto Me and hateth not his own father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be My disciple." And this would be in accord with Deuteronomy, for there the moral commands of the Decalogue are given with great emphasis first, as having the chief place in the covenant. The second interpretation is that Jeremiah is reasoning here upon the letter of Deuteronomy, just as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews reasons from the narrative of Scripture when he says that Melchizedek was "without father, without mother, having neither beginning of days nor end of life." In saying so, he is not giving us new facts about this kingly priest, from authorities other than Genesis. He is only using the story as it stands in Genesis xiv. and deducing lessons from its form. He is describing the "picture of him presented in Scripture," and drawing inferences from the fact that the inspired record elects to present Him so. Similarly Jeremiah is not giving us new information founded upon other than Biblical authorities; he is simply pointing out what Deuteronomy states. In the narrative of what took place at Sinai Jehovah did not speak and command the fathers concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. He spoke only the Decalogue, and the other ordinances were spoken by Moses. What Jehovah spoke Himself must, Jeremiah thinks, have been the principal thing, and as the Decalogue is exclusively moral, then morality must be of more importance than sacrifice, which was only commanded later, and through a mediator. Either of these interpretations would meet the demands of sound exegesis, and it seems certain that he

meant it in some such sense. With regard to Amos's statement about the wilderness journey, the same explanation would hold. He is not giving a different tradition as to the wilderness journey from that which the oldest records contain, he is only using as an argument what he finds in them. In J E there is no record of systematic sacrifice in the wilderness. Sacrifice is simply taken for granted, and some instructions are given regarding it. Even the Levitical law gives us no such record ; it only gives orders for the building, and the regulations for the use of the tabernacle. Nowhere is it said that sacrifices were offered continuously, and anything like the regular stated sacrifices of later times must have been impossible. Amos's argument, therefore, is mainly this. During the wilderness journey there is no record of sacrifices being offered, yet that was above all others the time in which Jehovah specially revealed Himself to His people in love. Consequently sacrifice cannot be the first and main element in the covenant with Jehovah as you are making it. He does not mean that sacrifice might be neglected with impunity, for he knew it had been commanded in Jehovah's name, but he does mean that morality and faith in God can alone give efficacy to sacrifice, and can still less be neglected.

These three passages, therefore, cannot be cited as denying that sacrifice in Israel was divinely appointed. They have another meaning which fits them better, and brings them into no collision with the facts of history as related in Deuteronomy. Under these circumstances it would seem to be unnecessary to hold to an exegesis of them which was always somewhat surprising, and which made an irreconcilable feud between Priests and Prophets. Scripture generally represents them as being equally necessary and equally authorised as instruments for building up the higher life of these people, and, rightly understood, there is no passage which contradicts that natural and probable view.

ANDREW HARPER.

*THE GALATIANS OF ST. PAUL AND THE DATE
OF THE EPISTLE.*

THE position of the Galatian churches has long been debated by church historians ; but our increasing knowledge of Asia Minor has revived public interest amongst us in this question. When the late Bishop Lightfoot published his edition of the Epistle to the Galatians thirty-nine years ago, the interior was well nigh a sealed book even to the learned. Now that the light of history and geography has penetrated its recesses, it is time to review his conclusion by the aid of this additional light. It is well known that he located those churches in the three chief cities of the Galatian tribes, Pessinus Ancyra and Tavium in north Galatia ; that the late M. Renan identified the Galatia of St. Paul, on the contrary, with the Roman province of that name which stretched across Phrygia Lycaonia and Pisidia as far south as Mount Taurus, and located the churches in the Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe ; and that the Bishop, on publishing his edition of the Epistle to the Colossians eighteen years ago, deliberately reaffirmed his original theory (*Col.*, p. 24 note). Most English students then with good reason accepted the authority of our great church historian as decisive. But if an enlarged knowledge of the facts bids us change our opinion and distrust his verdict, it is no true loyalty to the memory of so fearless and open-minded a seeker after truth to shut our eyes to the growing light, and hold fast by ancient authority.

The journeys of St. Paul across Asia Minor have been carefully traced by Professor Ramsay, the language of the Acts has been much discussed ; but neither the history of Galatia during the century before and after the Christian era, nor the language of St. Paul has yet been sufficiently taken into account. At the outset of any enquiry into the

meaning of the word Galatia stands the material fact that this had been, for twenty-five years or more before St. Paul wrote his epistle, the name of an important Roman province. This *prima facie* evidence of its meaning in the New Testament cannot be disposed of by designating it as a mere official title. For there was nothing unreal or ineffective in the provincial organisation of the Roman Empire. Each province under that centralised despotism formed an administrative unit much more distinct than was ever the case with an English county; the provincial capital was usually the centre of social, judicial, financial, and political life within the area. Nor was the division of Greece or Asia into provinces a mere arbitrary arrangement, like that of squares upon a map. It was firmly based on the history of the past, following the lines of national cleavage, physical geography, and commercial intercourse; the chains of internal communication were formed by urban communities which retained their old municipal privileges, or by new municipalities developed in accordance with the pattern created under the old Hellenic civilization. No one can doubt the real hold which Roman organisation had gained upon the people, who observes the extent to which the Church adopted and embraced it in its own structure. In the particular instance of Galatia we find the Roman province taking the place of a former Galatian kingdom at the death of king Amyntas in 25 B.C. Its headquarters continued still in north Galatia as they had been under the native princes; its boundaries remained practically the same, reaching southwards to the chain of Mount Taurus; there was probably no change in the local authorities, but a Roman governor silently occupied at Ancyra the palace of the Galatian kings. The southern half, which consisted of fragments from ancient states which had long ceased to exist except as geographical or ethnical terms, Lycaonia, Isauria, Phrygia, Pisidia, rose to importance under the early Cæsars

on account of the main road which traversed it and connected Syria and the East with Greece and Italy, and it was in consequence studded with Roman colonies and intersected by military roads; but it had gained a unity and name of its own before it was included in the Roman province, as part of a Galatian kingdom.

Nor can I discover in the national history any sufficient warrant for the limitation of the name to north Galatia or for drawing an arbitrary line of separation between the two halves of the province. It is quite true that the three principal clans which formed the ancient federation were grouped round the three centres, Pessinus Ancyra and Tavium, and that the nucleus of Galatian power lay in the north, but little is known of its southern limits; and their history does not justify any precise restriction of these. They were never a settled people dwelling peacefully within their own boundaries, but an adventurous race of warriors subsisting by the profits of war and conquest. For ninety years they levied contributions and rendered military service throughout every part of Asia Minor. In 189 B.C. Roman intervention forced them to respect the peace of the Roman province of Asia, and for the next hundred years they disappeared from general history. But they retained their warlike habits, and maintained a virtual independence on the borderland between the Roman province and the eastern kings; until in 88 B.C. they emerge from obscurity as the most energetic and successful allies of Rome in her Mithradatic wars. Throughout the previous hundred years they were a dominant race in north Galatia ruling over a subject Phrygian population, whose religion they had adopted in early times; and though southern Phrygia was not yet formally subject to their rule, it may be presumed that enterprising Galatian chieftains did not in those days scrupulously respect the liberty of the kindred Phrygian race in the south; for even the last Galatian king, Amyntas,

rose to wealth and power in the extreme south of the province in Lycaonia, and mastered Isaura before he succeeded to the Galatian sovereignty. The establishment of a powerful Galatian kingdom and the union of all the Galatian tribes under a single sovereign was the immediate result of the Mithradatic wars; and the formal extension of their dominion to southern Phrygia can hardly be put at a much later date.

History then leads me to the conclusion that the Galatians had gradually established themselves as a dominant race in southern Galatia long before it passed under Roman rule, and had already stamped their name upon the country. There as elsewhere the Romans accepted and confirmed a name which had already become current among the people. If so, the churches of Antioch and Iconium, Derbe and Lystra, were properly designated as churches of Galatia, and it was perfectly natural that St. Paul should address them as Galatians. It was their only common name—a name which the citizens of Roman colonies like Antioch and Lystra, and of favoured cities like Iconium and Derbe on which the Emperor Claudius bestowed the names of Claudiconium and Claudioderbe, might alike be proud to accept; for the Galatians had long been local masters of the country and fast allies of Rome.

It is true that the old local names survived also; for the province was large, and comprised divisions of considerable size, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Isauria in the south, Paphlagonian and Pontic districts in the north. It cannot therefore surprise the reader of the Acts to find Derbe and Lystra designated as cities of Lycaonia, and Antioch as Pisidian, though their citizens may be addressed collectively as Galatians. Such language presents an exact parallel to a description of Manchester as in Lancashire and Sheffield in Yorkshire, while their citizens are known as Englishmen.

That St. Paul did mean to include the four southern

churches under the designation *churches of Galatia* is strongly suggested by his language in all the epistles of that period. For he names but four groups of churches, and designates all alike by the names of Roman provinces—Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia.¹ It seems unreasonable to deny to Galatia the interpretation which is admitted without question in the three other cases. Nor was this coincidence of name a mere accident; it resulted directly from the deliberate policy which he adopted in the propagation of the Gospel. He followed the main lines of internal communication, and created church centres in the great cities; and was thus led to found his system of church expansion on the same principles on which the Romans founded their system of provincial administration.²

The connexion of the churches of Galatia with the Pauline fund for the benefit of the saints at Jerusalem furnishes a further argument for the comprehension of the four southern churches under that name. When the apostle first conceived that scheme at Ephesus, the two groups to which he addressed himself were those of Galatia and Achaia (1 Cor. xvi. 1). Subsequently the churches of Macedonia and Asia joined in the contribution, and it is certain that the apostle laid great stress on the union of his churches for this object, and risked his life in order to present the united deputation in person at Jerusalem. Now, if by Galatia be understood the province, the list contains an exhaustive description of the Pauline churches; if, on the contrary, it be understood as limited to its northern portion, all traces disappear of any invitation addressed to the four southern churches on the subject. They were the oldest and best established of all, they were comparatively close to St. Paul at Ephesus, one of their

¹ In 1 Pet. i. 1 Galatia is similarly classed with the other provinces of Asia Minor north of Mount Taurus.

² This subject is more fully treated in THE EXPOSITOR of last November.

members was his devoted minister at the time ; yet we are asked to believe that they were studiously ignored, while the remote and little known churches of north Galatia were associated with those of Greece and Asia. I cannot conceive such a view to be correct ; and the list of deputies given in Acts xx. 4 confirms my belief that 1 Corinthians xvi. 1 does refer to them ; for besides Timothy of Lystra, it includes Gaius of Derbe, who is not otherwise known as an associate of St. Paul, while it specifies no deputies from north Galatia.

The Epistle itself contains little precise information about its recipients. It has been noted that their impetuous and fickle disposition corresponds to the Celtic temperament, but this seems equally true of the Phrygian races, who were so closely blended with the Celtic in these parts ; and certainly the people of Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra presented a notable exhibition of these qualities in their treatment of St. Paul. More distinct and material to the present issue is the evidence that these Galatian converts were disciples of the synagogue, deeply imbued with its spirit, and familiar with the Old Testament in its Greek version. Such a body existed undoubtedly along the high road from Syria to the West, where Jews and Greeks mingled freely in the pursuits of commerce, and were drawn by constant contact of mind with mind into a considerable amount of religious sympathy ; but it is extremely doubtful whether the Celtic population of northern Galatia, who lived at this time remote from any great stream of traffic and retained their own language, were really accessible to Greek teaching or interested in the Jewish scriptures.

The references to Barnabas have been set aside as unimportant because he is twice mentioned in other epistles of St. Paul. But the reference in this Epistle to his cooperation in the Jerusalem mission as a well known fact, and the stress laid on his subsequent defection from the cause, imply

distinctly some personal knowledge of the man and of his position ; whereas the north Galatians were utter strangers to Barnabas, and were not even converted till after he had completed his mission, and definitely relinquished any share in the evangelisation of Asia Minor.

The date of the Epistle remains to be considered. It is well known that Lightfoot determined this almost exclusively by consideration of its style and character. He presented in striking language its close resemblance to the second Epistle to the Corinthians and to the Epistle to the Romans, especially to the latter, and argued from it confidently that it was written between these two in the autumn of 57. But it is one thing to note in two letters familiar workings of the same mind, and another to identify their dates on the ground of that resemblance. The force of such a presumption depends largely on circumstances ; a man may well repeat the same thoughts and the same expressions at considerable intervals, if the intervening tenor of his life and his environment continue constant. And the tenor of St. Paul's life after his conversion had been in one respect singularly uniform. He was engaged for many years in a prolonged controversy with Judaism, wherever he went. The doctrines of faith and works, of law and grace, which fill so large a space in the two Epistles to the Galatians and Romans, had been stamped on his mind once for all by a sudden revulsion against his rigid Pharisaic training ; they are asserted in his first recorded address (Acts xiii. 38, 39) in the same language as in these epistles. As a matter of fact, however, the controversy with Judaism had almost died out in the Pauline churches before 57 by the progress of events, as appears from the two Epistles to the Corinthians. His decisive breach with the synagogue, first at Corinth, then at Ephesus, reveals the growing strength of the Gentile element, which it did so much to foster ; and in 57 the apostle was directing his

energies towards a closer union of his own churches with those of Judæa. The Epistle to the Romans reflects the temper of that time in its pathetic yearning for the reconciliation of God's ancient people to Christ; but this sentiment finds no echo in the Epistle to the Galatians, which breathes the vehemence of earlier conflicts, just as its comparative immaturity of thought points to a much earlier date than is assigned to the Epistle to the Romans.

But the known facts of 57 supply a further objection to that particular date. Early in that year St. Paul wrote to the churches of Galatia and Achaia, instructing them to institute weekly collections for the church of Jerusalem. These letters were the sequel of a previous correspondence, and Achaia had responded the year before (*ἀπὸ πέρυσι*, 2 Cor. ix. 2), while Galatia had anticipated its sister churches (1 Cor. xvi. 1). The collections at Corinth were not completed in the autumn of 57, and the fund was not presented at Jerusalem till Pentecost, 58. In the meantime, every epistle and every speech of St. Paul testifies his deep interest in the fund. Yet the Epistle to the Galatians attributes the desire to remember the poor in Judæa to the Jerusalem apostles; it mentions St. Paul's ready acquiescence only in the abstract (Gal. ii. 10), and admonishes them in general terms to do good to the household of faith (Gal. vi. 10), but makes no allusion whatever to the fund then in progress, either by way of commendation or of dispraise. This silence is to me inexplicable on the hypothesis that it was written after the letters of 56-57. It belongs surely to an earlier time, when the thought of such a fund was working silently in the mind of the writer, and had not yet borne fruit in action.

I find further in the Epistle three distinct notes of time : (1) It was written after the Jerusalem conference and the subsequent collision at Antioch, and apparently soon after, if we may judge from the vividness of the narrative; (2) it

was written after a second visit to Galatia, for in Gal. iv. 13 the evangelisation of Galatia is described as *the former occasion* (τὸ πρότερον), implying one later visit; (3) it was probably written not long after this second visit; for in Gal. i. 4 the apostle describes the present revolt against his doctrine and apostolic authority as a rapid change, contrasting it apparently with the loyalty which he had hitherto found amongst his converts.¹ Now the date of the second visit to the Galatian churches depends entirely on the view adopted as to their locality. For St. Paul paid his second visit to Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch during the summer of 51, crossing Taurus after May, and sailing from Troas before the winter season; whereas he certainly did not found churches in north Galatia before that year, if at all, nor pay his second visit till three years later. The alternative presented therefore for our choice is of an epistle written to the converts in south Galatia in 51-2, or to those in north Galatia in 54-5. The verdict of history appears to me decisive in favour of the earlier date. In 51 the Galatian churches were still weak and isolated, largely leavened with Judaism, dependent for most of their teaching on the synagogue, and not yet assured of complete freedom from the bondage of the Law. For it was but a year since Judaising teachers had gained a hearing at Antioch, the mother of Gentile Christianity and the centre of Pauline authority. Paul and Barnabas had been forced to appeal against them to the decision of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. Even the formal verdict of the Church had not silenced the opposition, nor prevented the reactionary party from rallying at Antioch in defence of Jewish exclusiveness. They had succeeded in branding Gentile

¹ Lightfoot interprets this passage as denoting a period of several years perhaps after their conversion. It seems to me more natural to understand it of a change within a few months after the end of his last ministry among them, during which he had found them unchanged.

Christians with a social stigma as unclean, and had gained the countenance of Peter and Barnabas for the intrigue. The vigorous protest of Paul against the inconsistency of his brother apostles had checked this formidable movement; but when he had departed into south Galatia, it was sure to lift its head once more; and if so, it could hardly fail to follow in the track of the apostle along the high road to the West. Now here we have the exact *raison d'être* of the Epistle. *There be some that trouble you*, it is written—doubtless emissaries of the intolerant party at Jerusalem, who troubled the peace of Galatia, as *certain who came from James* did the peace of Antioch. The example of Peter and Barnabas was the most powerful argument which these agitators could employ in defence of their claims: and their misuse of apostolic authority accounts for Paul's elaborate vindication of his own independence. If the revolt of the Galatian churches followed close upon the events at Antioch as their natural sequel, we can at once understand the motive which prompted him—almost forced him—to enter on that recital. But the reproduction of that painful collision three or four years later can scarcely be reconciled with the spirit of harmony that prevailed between apostles. For the march of events had by that time effectually defeated the efforts of the circumcision against the authority of St. Paul in Greece and Asia Minor. In the churches of Macedonia and Achaia he reigned supreme,¹ he had already gained a footing in Asia, and begun that successful ministry at Ephesus which linked the churches of Galatia in one continuous chain with those in Europe. The secession of the church of Corinth from the synagogue in 52, and of Ephesus in 54, secured the independence of the Pauline churches much more decisively than the council of Jerusalem had done, and relegated its decrees to the domain of

¹ I have not forgotten that there were parties in the Church of Corinth; but it is clear that there was no real question of the apostle's supreme authority.

past history so completely that St. Paul in his next Epistle, though true to its spirit, entirely ignores its regulations as to unclean food (1 Cor. x. 27). The real danger of the Pauline churches was by that time not of Gentile bondage to the Law, but of schism between them and the Churches of the Circumcision. It is difficult to understand how churches of north Galatia, situated in the heart of Asia Minor and surrounded by Pauline churches could set up the rival authority of the Twelve as late as 54; and I have no hesitation in viewing the Galatian agitation as a last effort of the Judaizing party in 51.

If this decision be accepted, the Epistle must have been written from Corinth. For the apostle knew not, when he left Galatia in 51, whither the Spirit was leading him; and could receive no tidings from those churches till he had sent back word from Macedonia of his movements; and the answer could not well reach him before his flight from Macedonia. It seems certain that Timothy and Silas were not with him when he wrote, as their names are not added in the greeting; and their absence suggests that he wrote during the earlier period of his stay, while he was still struggling single-handed against Jewish opposition in the synagogue. The reference to the marks of Jesus branded on His body in Gal. vi. 17 becomes singularly apposite, if He was still scarred with the wounds inflicted by the rods of the Philippian magistrates, as He had once been by the cruel stones of the Lystra mob. In that case the Epistle is the earliest now extant of St. Paul's Epistles.

F. RENDALL.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

XV.—THE LIKENESS OF SINFUL FLESH.

THE text *Romans* viii. 3 has already been considered in connection with the Pauline doctrine concerning the significance of Christ's death. We then found reasons for coming to the conclusion that the text does not, as is usually supposed, properly refer to Christ's death, but rather alludes to the redeeming virtue of Christ's holy life in the flesh, showing, as it does, that subjection to the flesh is no inevitable doom, and giving promise of power to believers living in the flesh to walk after the spirit. Such I still hold to be the true import of the words: "God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and with reference to sin, condemned sin in the flesh." But it is obvious that these words raise questions on which we have not yet touched—questions having an important bearing on the Pauline doctrine of the flesh. God sent His Son in the flesh. Was Christ's flesh, in the apostle's view, in all respects the same as ours? Would he have applied to it the epithet "sinful" as he does to the flesh of ordinary men in the expression "flesh of sin" (*σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*)? There have always been theologians ready to answer these questions in the affirmative. And along with this view of what St. Paul believed concerning the flesh of Christ goes usually, if not by any logical necessity, a certain theory as to what he meant to teach in reference to the atoning function of the Redeemer. In discussing the apostle's doctrine concerning Christ's death I judged it best to make no reference to that theory, and to confine myself to a positive statement of what seemed to me to be the gist of his teaching on that subject. But an opportunity now offers itself of making some remarks on the theory in question, which may help to confirm results already arrived at, and throw some addi-

tional light on the apostle's whole way of conceiving Christ's earthly experience in relation to the problem of redemption.

The answer to the question concerning the moral quality of our Lord's flesh depends, or has been thought to depend, on the interpretation of the expression "in the likeness of sinful flesh" (*ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας*). Opinion is much divided here. There are two debatable questions: (1) Is the emphasis in the word *ὁμοιώματι* to be placed on the likeness, or on an implied unlikeness? (2) Do the words *σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* constitute a single idea, implying that sin is an essential property of the *σὰρξ*, or are the two words separate, so that *ἁμαρτίας* expresses only an accidental, though it may be all but universal property of the flesh? Either of the alternatives may be taken in either case, yielding four different interpretations. The second alternative under (1) is combined with the first under (2) by Baur, Zeller and Hilgenfeld, and the resulting interpretation is as follows: St. Paul regarded sin as an essential property of the flesh, but he hesitated to ascribe to Christ sinful flesh, therefore he said not that God sent Him in sinful flesh, but that God sent Him in *the likeness* of sinful flesh, meaning likeness in all respects *sin excepted*. Others, among whom may be specially mentioned Lüdemann,¹ combine the two first alternatives; and, while agreeing with the fore-mentioned writers in taking sinful flesh as one idea, differ from them by holding that it is the apostle's purpose to teach that God furnished His Son with a flesh made exactly like ours, like in this respect that it too was a flesh of sin. Not that the apostle meant thereby to deny the sinlessness of Jesus. For though *ἁμαρτία* was immanent in the flesh of Christ as in that of other men, it was only objective sin, not subjective; it never came to *παράβασις*; it was prevented from doing so by the Holy

¹ *Die Anthropologie des Apostels Paulus*, 1872.

Spirit, who guided all Christ's conduct, and kept the flesh in perfect subjection. A third class of interpreters, such as Hofmann, Weiss, etc., combine the two second alternatives, treating *σάρξ* and *ἁμαρτία* as separable ideas, and taking *ὁμοίωμα* as implying limitation of likeness in respect of the sinfulness of ordinary fallen human nature. Finally, Wendt combines the first alternative under (1) with the second alternative under (2), and takes out of the words the sense: Christ's creaturely nature was exactly the same as ours, to which sin adheres only *per accidens*, and the sinfulness of our flesh is referred to not to indicate *wherein* Christ was like us, but *wherefore* He was made like us.

None of these diverse interpretations can be considered exegetically self-evident. They are all, from the point of view of verbal exegesis, legitimate, and our decision must depend on other considerations. The view supported by Baur has a good deal of *primâ facie* plausibility; but assuming his interpretation of *ἐν ὁμοιώματι* to be correct, it appears to me to be an argument in favour of the separability of the ideas of flesh and sin. For why should it be supposed that the motive of the limitation is mere shrinking in reverence from applying a principle to Christ which is firmly held by the writer as a necessary truth? If the apostle believed that where *σάρξ* is there is, must be, sin, *ἁμαρτία* at least, if not *παράβασις*, would he who was so thoroughgoing in all his thinking have hesitated to ascribe it to Christ also? Would he not rather have done what, according to Lüdemann, he really has done, viz., ascribed to Christ's flesh *ἁμαρτία*, and then sought to guard His personal sinlessness by emphasizing the indwelling of the Divine Spirit as the means of preventing objective sin, *ἁμαρτία*, from breaking out into *παράβασις*? Surely he was much more likely to do this than to adopt the weak expedient of covering over a difficulty with a word.

The first alternative under (1) is therefore decidedly to be

preferred. The emphasis lies on the likeness not on an implied unlikeness. This conclusion is confirmed by the construction I have put on the didactic significance of the whole passage. If the apostle's aim was to insist on the redemptive value of Christ's successful transit through a curriculum of temptation, then he had a manifest interest in making the similarity of the conditions under which Christ was tempted to those in which we are placed as great as possible. The battle with sin must be very real for Christ as well as for us—not a sham fight. If in order to that it was necessary that Christ's flesh should be the same as ours in all respects, why then so it must be. Whether it was necessary or not is a difficult question, on which opinion may differ. Was that question present to St. Paul's mind, and if it was did he mean to pronounce an opinion upon it? It is commonly assumed that the problem was in his view, and that we here have his solution. Is this really so?

That so deep a thinker had asked himself the question: What about our Lord's flesh, was it wholly like ours? is probable. But that he was prepared to dogmatize on the question is not so likely. What if he was in a state of uncertainty about it, feeling the delicacy of the question, and the pressure of two contrary religious interests, each vitally important: on the one hand, the necessity of guarding the sinlessness of Jesus; on the other, the equal necessity of making His curriculum of temptation most thoroughly, even grimly, real? I do not think it matters much for the ascertainment of the apostle's mind on this point whether we take the expression "sinful flesh" as analytic, with Baur, or as synthetic, with Wendt. Synthetic or not, the two ideas "flesh" and "sin" had become, as we saw, very coherent in his thought. For all practical purposes "sinful flesh" had assumed for him the character of a single indissoluble idea, at least with reference

to ordinary men. And just on that account he could not well get past the question: Was Christ's flesh an exception? was there in His case no law in the members warring against the law of the mind? But it does not follow that he was ready with his answer. The question is a puzzle to us, why should it not be to him? And if it was, what could he do but say, Christ came in the likeness of sinful flesh *to the extent of being subject to very real temptation to sin and all that that may involve?* That is what, when the previous context is taken into account, he in effect does say in this much contested passage.

And so it results that the true interpretation of the text, Romans viii. 3, after all does not enable us to answer the question propounded, but leaves it an open question for theologians. As such, however, the most representative theologians of the Church have not treated it. The decided tendency of orthodox theology has ever been to regard the question as closed, to the effect of holding that Christ's flesh differed from that of ordinary men in being free from that law in the members warring against the law of the mind, whereof the apostle complains.¹ But there have never been lacking some Christian thinkers who have been unable to acquiesce in this decision. The grounds of dissent have been such as these: If Christ's personal sinlessness be loyally maintained, the interests of faith are sufficiently safeguarded. The more difficult it was for Christ to be sinless, the more meritorious. The utmost that can be said against the flesh in any case is, that it makes holiness difficult by supplying powerful sources of temptation. That is all that is meant by the expression "objective sin."

¹ In an Article on the phrase *ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἀμαρτίας* in *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1869, Overbeck remarks that from Marcion to Baur interpreters have assigned to *ὁμοίωμα* a negative sense, similarity as opposed to likeness, in relation to *ἀμαρτία*. He characterizes the history of the interpretation of this word as that of the almost uncontested reign of an exegetical *monstrum* of patriotic controversial theology.

Properly speaking, what the apostle calls "flesh of sin" is not sinful. Sin and sinlessness belong to the person and not to the nature.¹ The flesh as such is in no case bad. It is the inversion of the right relation between flesh and spirit that is sin.² Only in case the flesh as we inherit it made perfect holiness impossible, would it be necessary for Christ the sinless One to have a flesh uniquely endowed. But the apostle's view is not that perfect holiness, blameless walking in the spirit, is impossible for Christians. He exhorts Church members to perfect holiness by cleansing themselves from all defilement of flesh and spirit,³ and treats Christ's moral triumph over temptation as a guarantee for the fulfilment of the righteousness of the law in Christian men walking not after the flesh but after the spirit.⁴ If that be possible in us, with the flesh as we have it, it was possible *a fortiori* in Christ even in a flesh in all respects like ours. Finally, by what means could Christ's flesh be made different from ours? By the power of the Holy Ghost? But moral effects cannot be produced by mere physical power. "The function of the Holy Ghost is influence and never mere power,"⁵ and its proper sphere is the will, not the material frame.

I proceed now to make some observations on the theory of atonement, which is usually associated with this "heterodox" view as to the flesh of Christ. I have been accustomed to call it the theory of "Redemption by sample."⁶ The name, though not accepted by the advocates of the theory, sufficiently indicates the principle. That principle is that Christ did for Himself first of all what needs to be done for us, and did it by living a perfectly holy life in a

¹ So Porcher du Bose : *The Soteriology of the New Testament* (1892), p. 202.

² So Beyschlag : *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (1892), vol. ii. p. 41.

³ 2 Cor. vii. 1.

⁴ Rom. viii. 4.

⁵ Du Bose : *Soteriology*, p. 208.

⁶ Vide *The Humiliation of Christ*, pp. 47, 253 ff.

human nature in all respects like ours. He sanctified the sample of human nature which he assumed, and so laid a sure foundation for the sanctification of humanity at large. Christ on this view was at once the thing to be redeemed, its redemption, and the thing redeemed,¹ and His work was "through His own self-perfection to perfect us."² A peculiar significance is attached to the death of Christ by some exponents of the theory. What took place in the crucifixion was that sin in Christ's own flesh was judicially condemned and executed, and so the power of sin in the flesh in principle overcome and abolished for all Christians.

Before making critical remarks on this theory, it may be proper here to point out the precise relation in which it stands to the view of Christ's flesh, with which it is associated. The state of the case I take to be this. The theory of atonement in question demands that Christ's flesh be in all respects like ours, but holding this view does not necessitate adoption of the theory. Redemption by sample requires that Christ's flesh be a sample of the corrupt mass to be redeemed. But Christ's flesh might be that, and yet redemption proceed on another principle. The identity of the Redeemer's flesh with ours would fit in to the theory of Redemption by *self-humiliation* quite as well as to the theory of redemption by self-redemption. It would mean simply that Christ's temptations would be very fully assimilated to ours, and so become a very strong ground of hope. Possibly Christ's experience of temptation would sufficiently resemble ours without such identity. In that case, the theory of redemption by *self-humiliation* could afford to leave the question as to Christ's flesh open. On the other hand, the theory of redemption by self-redemption cannot allow the question to be open. Hence the relevancy of a criticism on that theory in this place. We criticise a theory which ex-

¹ Du Bose: *Soteriology*, p. 227.

² *Ib.*, p. 286.

cludes our view as to the vagueness of St. Paul's statement that God sent His Son in the likeness of sinful flesh.

This theory, then, seems very open to criticism in the construction it puts on the crucifixion. In the first place if the *ἀμαρτία* in Christ's flesh was a thing which could be completely kept under by the holy will of Christ (as is admitted on all hands), was it not morally insignificant, and therefore not a thing calling for judicial condemnation and execution? Is there not something theatrical in this pouring out of the vials of Divine wrath on the flesh of Christ for the objective sin latent in it? It is impossible to read the eloquent declamations on this topic, in the writings of Edward Irving,¹ *e.g.*, without feeling that the whole affair is utterly unreal, without any fact-basis, a pure theological figment. Then, on the other hand, one fails to see how the judicial condemnation on the cross of potential sin in Christ's flesh is to benefit us in the way of preventing the vicious bias in our flesh from breaking out into transgression. For though the objective sin of the flesh in Christ's case happily proved innocuous, it is far enough from being harmless in our case, *teste* St. Paul. How then are we to be benefited? How will the condemnation of Christ's flesh in His death deliver us from our body of death? Shall we say to ourselves: in that death my flesh was crucified? Alas! the faith-mysticism will not help us here. The faith-mysticism may act on the imagination and the heart, but hardly on the flesh. It will remain as obstinately as ever opposed to all good, for anything the condemnation of Christ's flesh on Calvary effected. Instead of faith-mysticism, then, must we have recourse to sacramental-magic, and say that in the Lord's Supper the Lord's resurrection-body, purged from potential sin by the fire of the cross, passes into our bodies and becomes there a trans-

¹ Vide *The Doctrine of the Incarnation Opened* (Collected Writings, vol. v.), and the account of his view in *The Humiliation of Christ*, p. 254.

forming influence, spiritualizing, sublimating our carnal frames into the likeness of Christ's risen humanity? That certainly was the way Irving's adventurous spirit took in carrying out his pet theory. It seems the only course open, and it is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory.

If the stress of Christ's work be placed, as perhaps on this theory it ought to be, on the life rather than on the death of the Redeemer, then the redemptive value of our Lord's experience lies in His heroic struggle to maintain perfect holiness in spite of the sinful flesh. Now here at least we are in contact with a fact. The condemnation of Christ's flesh on the cross has all the appearance of being a pure figment, but Christ's battle with temptation was an indubitable, stern reality to which value must be assigned in every true theory of redemption. The only question is, how can it be made to tell for our advantage? The Apostle's answer to this question, so far as I can make out, is this: Christ's holy life in the flesh shows that for men living in the flesh bondage to sin is not the natural and inevitable state; it is a judgment on the actual condition of bondage as what ought not to be and need not be. Further, as the whole of Christ's earthly experience was in the view of the apostle an appointment of God for a redemptive purpose, that sinless life is a promise and guarantee of Divine aid to holy living for all who believe in Jesus. Jesus walked in the Spirit while in the flesh, and to those who believe in Him God will communicate His Spirit to enable them to do the same. Finally the culmination of Christ's victorious life in the Spirit in a resurrection into pneumatic manhood from which all gross fleshliness has disappeared, gives us a sure ground of hope for the ultimate redemption of our body out of the natural into the spiritual, out of the corruptible into the incorruptible. An objective sentence of illegitimacy on the reign of sin in the flesh, an incipient and progressive emancipa-

tion therefrom through the strengthening of the spiritual powers, with the prospect of completed emancipation hereafter: surely these together constitute a not inconsiderable boon! It is difficult to see what more we could have on any theory unless it were some physical process of transformation carried on in the flesh even now.

Just this the advocates of the theory of redemption by sample seem to think their theory secures. Their way of thought is so different from mine that it is with diffidence I attempt to expound it, but the position taken up is something like this. Christ is not now in process of redemption; the process is complete so far as He is concerned, and the fact must tell for our advantage. Christ and we are organically one. He is one with us, and we are one with Him—one with Him risen, not in hope only, but somehow even at the present time. The risen Christ has it in His power to make us now what He Himself is. And by what means? By sacraments, especially by the sacrament of baptism. Once more the sacramental *Deus ex machinâ*. The links of thought here are not easily traceable. It may be due in part to the fact that the prominent exponents of the theory are connected with churches deeply tinged with sacramentarianism that so much stress is laid on ritual in connection with the process of salvation. Be that as it may, the logic of sacramentarianism is too subtle for me. That the completely self-redeemed Christ should be able in the case of Christians to hasten the process of redemption through the exceptional powers He has attained is conceivable. According to the apostle He is eventually to change our vile body into the likeness of His glorious body, and for anything we know the process might conceivably begin before death, or at the moment when a man becomes by faith a new creature in Christ Jesus. But why should baptism be the instrument in this miraculous process? How comes it that a mere

rite possesses such tremendous significance as to be "an integral part of the Divine act or process of incarnation,"¹ whereby the individual incarnation of Christ becomes gradually the collective incarnation of redeemed humanity? The reply may be: We cannot tell; it is enough for us that such is the fact as declared in Pauline texts, like *Romans* vi. 3, 4, and still more remarkably in the Lord's great commission to His apostles before His ascension. "All power is given unto Me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, *baptizing* them." What is this but an intimation from the risen One, that He is at length in possession of a power to raise humanity up to God, to impart His own risen humanity to men, and that the instrument by which He is to effect that great result through the agency of His disciples is *baptism*.³ We are not here concerned with the exegesis of supposed proof texts, but simply with the point of view in support of which they are adduced. Practically the outcome is salvation by *sacraments*. This is what redemption of men by the self-redemption of Christ ends in. Christ fought a battle with the flesh unaided save by the Holy Spirit who dwelt in Him in all possible fulness. His victory makes the struggle easier for us, not merely by ensuring for us the aid of the Divine Spirit through whom He conquered, but by introducing into the very flesh, which is the seat of our foe, the mysterious powers of His heavenly humanity through the use of consecrated spiritualized matter in the forms of water, bread, and wine. This recourse to sacramental grace as the mainstay is, in my view, a confession of failure. It is the mountain labouring and bringing forth a ridiculous birth. It is more and worse. The *reductio ad absurdum* of a certain theory of redemption, it is at the same time a melancholy perversion and caricature of Christianity.

A. B. BRUCE.

¹ Du Bose: *Soteriology*, etc., p. 358.

Vide Du Bose: *Soteriology*, etc., p. 354.

*PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES
RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND AU-
THORITY OF THE MOSAIC BOOKS.*

III. EARLY MAN AND EDEN.

WE have seen that the first chapter of Genesis, with verses first to third of the second, constitutes a complete record of a finished and perfected world, with man at its head, entering into the Sabbatism of his Creator. This is the ideal world of our narrator in its golden age, and it implies not a merely stationary condition, but a gradual development of nature in utility and beauty, under the benevolent guidance of a rational being destined to overspread, and to subdue and rule the world. Had this continued, according to him, there had been no sin and suffering on the one hand, and none of those woes or benefits which have sprung from the acquisition of the practical knowledge of good and evil. It is the short continuance of the golden age and the descent from the unruffled current of primitive innocence to the boiling rapids of the great moral fall that must next attract our attention, and I think we shall find that in no part of the Pentateuch is there more certain evidence of primitive authorship and Mosaic editing than in the history of Eden and the antediluvian age, or more exact correspondence in these respects with the facts ascertained from other sources.

To many critics the second chapter of Genesis is in part an imperfect repetition of the first, constituting a different version of creation, of later date, but found by the redactors among their material and somewhat unskilfully patched in with their work. To a scientific reader, however, it assumes a different aspect, being evidently local in its scope, and relating to conditions of the introduction of man not mentioned in the general account of creation. It is as if a

writer on primitive man were to precede his special treatment of that subject by a general account of the whole history of the earth; and, having thus fixed the geological date of the introduction of man, should then proceed to a detailed account of the early Anthropic period.

This second narrative has a special introduction, which connects it with the previous history, and at the same time marks a new beginning with the formula—"These are the generations," etc.—which reappears in subsequent portions of the book, and which implies that this new section has a human rather than a cosmical interest, and thus forms a link between the general physical and organic creation and the history of man, in connection with a particular region which it proceeds to specialize in the description of Eden. All this, as we shall see immediately, is carefully, and in a truly scientific manner, carried out in detail.

A preliminary point, however, is to inquire why the narrator introduces a new designation of God—Jehovah-Elohim,¹ instead of Elohim merely. It is clear, that, on the hypothesis of a Mosaic authorship or editorship, we cannot attribute this to a new redactor or author of different date, and must be prepared to consider the change as a part of the plan of the book, and made for some definite purpose, which may probably be learned from the book itself. It may seem at first sight that this question is foreign to our present purpose; but science and history concern themselves with names as well as with things and facts, and the origin and use of terms may often throw important light both on dates and causes. It may therefore be proper to attend very shortly here to the use of the name Jehovah as explained in the work we are considering. We shall best understand this by noting its history as stated by the author, his own personal relations to it, and

¹ I shall use the ordinary spelling of the name Jehovah, as the most familiar, though probably not correct.

the manner in which he assigns its use to his characters. He first introduces it to us in the remarkable saying attributed to the first mother on the birth of Cain, "I have gotten a man the Jehovah," or "the one that is to be." What precise theological meaning we are to attach to this saying it is unnecessary to inquire; but we can scarcely be wrong in supposing that it refers in some way to "the seed of the woman" promised in a previous passage, and that Eve connects the birth of her son with this promise. The name reappears on the birth of Eve's grandson Enos, when either Seth, the father of Enos, or man in general began to "call on the name of Jehovah," or "praised and called on the name of Jehovah," which would seem to imply that special attention was at this time directed to the coming deliverer as a Divine person. I can scarcely help connecting this with the hint of two distinct religions conveyed in the story of the marriage of the sons of God (Beni-ha-Elohim) with the daughters of men (Benoth-ha-Adam), which seems to imply that the Cainites retained exclusively the worship of Elohim or the God of Nature, while the Sethites, regarded as the heirs of the promise made to Adam, invoked the name of Jehovah, and that the two tribes, after remaining separate for a time, were re-united by these marriages. Of course, I cannot for a moment entertain the idea of marriages between angelic beings, whether good or bad, and human wives, and the use of the term sons of God, in Job and elsewhere, for super-human beings may be placed with the fact that men also are called sons of God, and in one passage (Ps. lxxxii. 6) "gods," as well as "children of the Most High." From these marriages, contracted in an unlawful way by capture on the part of the men,¹ there arose a mixed progeny, physically more powerful and energetic than either of the

¹ Compare chap. ii. 24, and our Lord's comment on it (Matt xix. 5). We may have to return to this curious question of the mixed marriages.

pure races, the Nephelim and Gibborim of the antediluvian time; and whose remains are probably now known to us in the gigantic skeletons of the caverns of the Palanthropic ages.

Subsequently to this we find occasional examples in Genesis, especially in the earlier part, of the use of the name Jehovah by the personages of the history; but in the more important places, as in the successive revelations to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and in the closing benediction of the latter, the formula "God Almighty" is used.¹ Hence when at a much later date God communes with Moses (Exod. iii.), and reveals himself by the name of Jehovah in connection with the redemption of Israel, we find Moses addressing God as Adonai, and expressing himself as if it was a question with him by what name he should introduce God to his countrymen. In harmony with this is the statement that God was not known to the patriarchs by the name or in the characters of Jehovah, and that His formal name to them was God Almighty. With this also agrees the objection attributed to Pharaoh, "Who is Jehovah that I should obey him?" and "I know not Jehovah." Had the name Adon been used, he would have known this as a Semitic name for God, and even the name of Elohim was probably known to him in the same connection. From all this it appears that while our narrator in Genesis attributes a great antiquity to the name Jehovah, and connects it with the idea of a covenant of redemption made with man, he represents it as falling into comparative disuse, and in Exodus it is again brought to the front by the agency of Moses. If this is true, who so likely as Moses to have introduced the name into the early history of man? By doing so and constantly repeating it in his narrative, he forced it on his readers' memories as a name

¹ Gen. xvii. 1, xxviii. 3, xxxv. 11, xlviii. 3, xlix. 25; also in Jacob's emotional blessing of Benjamin, xliii. 14.

not merely of a tribal and national God, but as one claiming supremacy over all men, and especially as having to do with the redemption of man from sin and slavery, and with their own special deliverance. Thus it was proper to introduce it everywhere in his narrative, but not to give it premature prominence in the language of his characters. We see also from these facts the expediency of the transition expression Jehovah-Elohim, the Lord-God. By this he marks the change from the general account of the creation to the special history of man, and from the cosmical work of the Godhead (Elohim) to the special work of election and redemption which form his theme after the fall, while at the same time he avoids the possibility of supposing that he believes in a plurality of gods, and that Jehovah is a distinct God from Elohim. All this is perfectly in accordance with the personality of Moses as previously defined, and strongly points to him as editor and author of Genesis and Exodus. Why should not the man who represents himself as specially commissioned to make God known by this name, use it in all that part of his history which refers to the chosen people? and as it designated not only the God who was and is but the God to come as the deliverer, what more appropriate than its use in those earlier parts of his story in which he represents the promise of redemption as given in advance to Adam and Eve? The whole treatment of the name is perfectly consistent with itself, and no one is historically so likely as Moses to have been at once the "Jehovist" and "Elohist" of Genesis. But the descriptive part of the second chapter of Genesis affords still more certain arguments to which we must now turn.

The statements made in the fifth and following verses are puzzling at first sight, and different from what we should have expected. "No shrub of the field was yet in the earth, and no herb of the field had yet sprung up, for the Lord God had not caused it to rain on the earth, and there

was not a man to till the ground ; but there went up a mist from the earth and watered ¹ the surface of the ground." This obviously refers to a condition of the earth, or a part of it, immediately antecedent to the introduction of man, and the picture it presents is that of an alluvial flat recently abandoned of the waters, in a rainless climate and watered by dense mists or copious dews, and thus eventually becoming clothed with such rank vegetation as may exist in such places. If Moses was the writer, was he thinking of the alluvium of the Nile as the inundation leaves it? The subsequent localization of Eden shows that this could not have been the locality in view. The picture is, however, that of the alluvial plain of a great river, at first a mere expanse of sand and mud-exhaling vapour, but afterwards clothed with plants, and ultimately converted into the Garden of the Lord. We may suppose the time to have been that following one of the later submergences of the margins of the continents, immediately before the advent of man and his companion animals. With reference to these last, it is to be observed that we are not now, as in chapter first, dealing with the whole animal creation, but with a local fauna, that of the Edenic region which was man's first habitat. The objection therefore sometimes taken that this second account of the creation of animals is contrary to the first, falls to the ground. The second description refers merely to the advent of a recent local fauna.

The idea thus conveyed to us is that man was produced on some recently elevated alluvial plain, a view quite in accordance with historical fact, since it has usually been on the latest geological formations that man has by preference settled, and that populous nations have most rapidly grown up. This was not an idea likely to have occurred to a writer or compiler dwelling on the hills and valleys of Palestine. It would better suit the Egyptian, who be-

¹ Caused to.

lieved men and animals to have sprung from the fertile mud of the Nile; or an inhabitant of the Great Idinu, Sumir, or Euphratean plain, whose people seem always to have believed that they occupied the primitive abode of man; so that if we regard this composition independently altogether of inspiration, it is likely to be of Egyptian or Mesopotamian origin rather than Palestinian. It should be stated here, however, that it has been generally admitted that, under any hypothesis as to the origin of man, he must in a state of nature have enjoyed a warm and equable climate affording supplies of vegetable food throughout the year, and free from the incursions of the more formidable beasts of prey. Such conditions are to be realized only in tropical oceanic islands, or in the deltas of great rivers in low latitudes. Haeckel in his *History of Creation*, and of course without any reference to Genesis, after discussing the relative merits of various places, concludes that the human species must have originated near the Persian Gulf or on an imaginary continent now submerged to the south of it,—thus, as we shall see, agreeing very nearly with the old record in Genesis. This leads, however, to consider the actual sight selected by our narrator for the primitive abode of man, of which he gives a geographical description which we shall find has a most far-reaching significance.

“Gan Eden,” says Sir Henry Rawlinson, “answers to the old Babylonian Gan Dunya, and must have been situated on the Euphrates and three other rivers watering the plain of Babylonia.” Many of the older writers, as is well known, favour this view, and among later authorities may be mentioned Delitzsch, Pincher and Sayce. It agrees also, as we have seen, with the introductory description. Without waiting at present to notice objections, we may proceed at once to indicate the character of the geographical description, and the consequent standpoint and date of the writer.

Eden, according to our narrator, was a district or region within which, and probably in its eastern part, was planted the "Garden" intended for the primal abode of man.¹ It was irrigated by four rivers, and I think in a document so ancient it is not necessary to insist on a later Semitic usage, which would cause us to understand the word "heads" as "mouths," and so to render unintelligible the whole description from a geographical point of view. We may assume that the four rivers were confluent in the region and that the "heads" into which they were divided are their sources.

One of these rivers, the Euphrates or Perath, was evidently the standpoint of the writer, for he merely gives its name. The second, Hiddekel, or Tigris, he says, goeth in or toward the front or east of Assyria or Asshur. The third, Gihon (rushing or pushing river), is said to run around the land of Cush. The fourth, or more distant river, Pison (spreading river), being probably more distant and less known to his readers, he characterizes more fully. It runs around the land of Havilah, where there is gold, "and the gold of that land is good; there is bedolach and shoham stone." We are thus restricted to the region of the Euphrates and Tigris; and to the eastward of the latter are the important rivers Kherkah and Kárún, both flowing into the Shat-el-Arab formed by the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris, and, as modern exploration shows, corresponding with the indications of our old geographer.

Taking them now in the order of the narrative, and identifying the Pison with the Kárún, we find that this alone of the four rivers flows down from the high range of the mountains of Luristan (the ancient Zagros), which lies along the western frontier of Persia, and is the only range of granitic and metamorphic rocks near to the old Eden

¹ We need not stop to enquire as to the precise meaning of the word translated "eastward" or "beforehand."

plain. These hills have, according to the late eminent geologist, William Kennet Loftus,¹ gold washings in some of their streams, abundance of garnets, crystalline quartz and serpentine, as well as of the pure white gypsum, afterwards used so extensively by the Assyrians, and they afford also jade, flinty slate, chert and jasper, suitable for the tools and implements of primitive man. Furthermore, this is the sole region near to the valley of the Lower Euphrates which yields these treasures. I have already, in a former number of this Journal,² stated the reasons for believing that the "gold bedolach and shoham stone" of our old narrative should be regarded as intended to represent native metals, pearly or other stones available for personal ornament, and jade and its allied rocks; in other words, "gold, wampum and stone, for implements," the treasures of primitive man. I need not repeat the evidence here; but may state a curious confirmation which I have not seen noticed. In the Apocalypse, where the description of Eden is repeated and extended in that of the New Jerusalem, we find the "gold, bedolach and shoham" of Genesis represented by the golden streets, the pearly gates, and the foundations of precious stones. Thus the Kárún, the Pasi-Tigris of Greek writers, flowing from the ancient Mount Zagros, and spreading on the Euphratean plain, is the only one of the four great rivers of the region to which the description of our author can apply, and for this identification we are indebted to the labours of an English geologist, who had, however, no reference in his explorations to Biblical history. This same river Pison is said to traverse the land of Havilah; and as this name belongs to the early postdiluvian period, it proves, as we shall see, the date of

¹ "Geology of the Turko-Persian Frontier, and of Districts Adjoining"—*Journal of Geological Society of London*, vol. x. p. 247. I have carefully examined the collections of Loftus, now preserved in London.

² March, 1887.

our writer. But in the account of the dispersion of men in Genesis x., we read of two Havilahs—one the son of Cush, of the line of Ham, the other a son of Joktan, of the line of Shem. We should at first sight be inclined to prefer the Cushite Havilah; but the author or editor of Genesis adds a note to the effect that it was the Shemitic Havilah, who had his dwelling “as thou goest towards Sephar, the mountain (or hill country) of the East, which can be no other than Mount Zagros.¹ The next river, the Gihon, which, if represented by the modern Kherkah, runs parallel to, but not from the Zagros chain,² is said to compass the land of Cush, not an African Cush or Ethiopia, but that same Cushite people which, according to Genesis, established the earliest kingdom in the plain of Shinar. The existence of this early Cushite or Turanian kingdom, and its importance and civilization, and the colonies which it sent into Arabia and Africa, are now well known from the ancient Chaldean inscriptions, especially those of Tel-loh; and Hommel has quite recently confirmed the identification of Nimrod with the old Chaldean hero Gisdubar,³ and has even published an inscription calling him the founder of Erech, the city which, according to Genesis, was the beginning of his kingdom. The connection of the Tigris from the earliest times with the beginning of the Assyrian empire is well known. Thus we identify the site of Eden by both the physical and the historical geography of our narrative.

Having, however, thus verified this unique and ancient geographical description, we may go a step farther, and find the date of the narrator himself. He is clearly not an antediluvian writer, for his political geography, according

¹ Connected no doubt with the Sepharvaim and Sippara of early times, and with the early settlement of Semitic Elamites in Persia.

² In most modern maps it is otherwise, but Loftus shows that this is incorrect, our old geographer in Genesis being more accurate than those of more modern times.

³ *Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, November and December, 1893.

to the tenth chapter of the same book, applies to post-diluvian times. But he belongs to a very early post-diluvian time—to that age when the Cushite empire founded by Nimrod was still dominant on the Lower Tigris, when the Shemites of Asshur and Havilah were beginning to establish independent kingdoms on the north and east, destined at a very early date to subvert that of the Cushites, and when Cush was a name not for an African but for an Asiatic nation. We know from the Chaldean records themselves that at a very ancient period the Elamite people, represented in the time of Abraham by Chedor-laomer and his allies, had already triumphed over the old Cushite kingdom, which was never restored to its primitive form. Therefore, just as this early writer fixes his geographical point of view on the bank of the Euphrates, he fixes his chronological standpoint between the time of Noah and that of Abraham, and probably nearer to the former than to the latter. The only other alternative would be to suppose that some later writer had contrived to place himself in imagination so closely in the geographical and historical environment of a supposed ancient author, that modern discoveries, of which he must have been entirely ignorant, would only serve to confirm his statements. This is simply incredible; but even this unlikely supposition has been provided for.

In the time to which we have referred the description of Eden, it is certain that the Persian Gulf extended farther to the north-west, and that the outlets of the four rivers of the Babylonian plain were more separated, and their banks even more low and marshy than in modern times. This was a consequence of a great post-glacial submergence, probably the same with the historical deluge. The locality was therefore less suited than even at present to be the Garden of the Lord. And much of it was probably submerged, and only in later times gradually reclaimed by the

silting-up of the head of the gulf. But in the early antediluvian time, the second continental period of geologists, it must have been higher than now, the Persian Gulf must have been in part dry land, the four rivers must have been more nearly united, and the marshy Babylonian plain may have been comparatively dry and forest-clad. Our old narrator must have known this as a historical or traditional fact, and that the site of the Garden of Eden had become greatly deteriorated if not obliterated in his time. Therefore, though he is bold enough to place the aboriginal abode of man in this unlikely locality, he makes no attempt to identify the precise site of the garden, but only of the district in which it had been situated. This is the attitude not of a writer of fiction, but of an annalist living near to the times which he describes, and rigidly adhering to the evidence before him, even when appearances were against it.

We have, therefore, arrived, on infallible evidence furnished by geology, geography and history, at the conclusion that the original author of the document of which the second chapter of Genesis forms a portion, flourished somewhere between the time of the Deluge and that of the patriarch Abraham. This conclusion cannot now be shaken by any literary criticism, and is in every way likely to be further confirmed by new discoveries. We have, further, a right on linguistic grounds to carry this statement forward, at least to the beginning of the fourth chapter, and to suppose that a writer who shows himself so careful and so accurate in his geography and history, will be equally so in the biographical details into which he next enters. Further, we cannot suppose that a document so important as this was unknown to Moses or other learned men of his time, and was left to be disinterred by later historians. If any literary evidence can be adduced to prove that it is a Hebrew translation by the great Lawgiver from a Turanian

original, or that its diction has been in any way modified or modernized, we may be prepared to listen to this; but nothing can shake the demonstration of its original date and geographical accuracy. The historical critics have thus at least one dated document from which they may, if so disposed, make a new departure in their investigations.

I do not propose to write a commentary on Genesis, and therefore in my next paper shall move onward to the narrative of the Deluge, which, if I mistake not, can now be very fully illustrated by geological and archæological facts, and referred to its true position as pre-Mosaic history.

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

EPILOGUE.

IT is a fundamental point to prove that *Ἰρουπάλας* in *Luke* iii. 1 is an adjective; and, while I omit much that ought to be said on my side (especially as to the telling passage, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 11, 3), there is one argument which cannot be omitted.¹

Hitherto, in order to be quite safe, I have conceded that *Ἰρουπάλα* perhaps occurs as a noun in the fourth century;

¹ It is rather embarrassing that a scholar of so much higher authority than myself as Dr. G. A. Smith should interpose in the middle of my argument, to settle the question against me, as has happened in this case. My concluding remarks were crushed out of the February number by want of space, and were intended, in their slightly enlarged form, to appear in the March number. I am sorry that, though he tells me he is so, I cannot recognise in Dr. Smith an ally in this matter; and, if the editor will permit, I shall append a note, as brief as I can, to state reasons for thinking that he has mixed up two different questions and looked from two varying points of view. My point is that *Luke* iii. 1 is right, not by a side-issue (as Dr. Smith admits to be possible), but by virtue of facts and of the customary and regular usage of the country. *Luke* iii. 1, 2 is one of the two most important passages for the future biographer of the author; and it seems strange to me that the evidence given in it to date the composition has never (so far as I know) been observed. For the controversy with Mr. Chase, the geographical question raised by Dr. Smith is immaterial. He merely shows that *Luke* is perhaps wrong geographically; but he admits the adjective in iii. 1.

but I shall now try to show that no examples occur even then. In Epiphanius, *Hæres.*, 19, which I said was "not entirely certain" (see p. 52), the word is adjectival, occurring in a list where all the names are of that type, τῆς Ναβατικῆς χώρας καὶ Ἰτουπαίας.¹ Eusebius, as quoted by Schürer, has Ἰτουπαία ἡ καὶ Τραχωνίτις. But the corresponding entry is Τραχωνίτις χώρα ἡ καὶ Ἰτουπαία, and as both entries are indubitably explanatory of *Luke* iii. 1, it is probable that χώρα should be inserted in the former. This is almost conclusively proved by the translations of Jerome, quoted on p. 53, *Ituræa et Trachonitis regio*² and *Trachonitis regio sive Ituræa*. There remains then no single passage in ancient literature to justify the noun, which has been forced on *Luke*.³

It is therefore safe to assert that τῆς Ἰτουπάας καὶ Τραχων-

¹ Incidentally we notice that the whole enumeration, "the Nabatic district, and the Ituræan (district), and the Moabitic and the Areilitic (Gad)," is inconsistent with Dr. Schürer's localization of "Ituræa." It denotes the Peræa, Nabatæa on the south, Moab and Gad in the centre, and the Ituræans on the north; and Epiphanius evidently did not think of an Ituræan country in Lebanon. But Dr. Schürer dismisses all the Christian authorities as being prejudiced and determined to make *Luke* iii. 1 accurate. But surely Epiphanius, in discussing this heresy, was not thinking of the accuracy of *Luke* iii. 1; he was using independent authorities.

² The text here should probably be corrected to *Ituræa quæ et Trachonitis regio*. I wrote a note to this effect in my former paper; but omitted it, in order to leave no opening for criticism. The Greek makes the emendation almost certain. [Most of this article was in type in the beginning of January, when, as already explained, I was dependent on Dr. Schürer for the quotations from Eusebius; but after term began, Mr. Souter investigated the text for me in the Cambridge University Library. Lagarde gives the text Ἰτουπαία, ἡ καὶ Τραχωνίτις. χώρα ἥς κ.τ.λ. It appears, therefore, that Dr. Schürer, accepting Lagarde's false punctuation, translated this as "Ituræa, which is also Trachonitis: a region of which," etc. But after our investigation, we cannot doubt that it ought to be translated, "the Ituræan or Trachonitic country, of which," etc. I observe that Ortelius, *Thesaur. Geograph.*, recognises that in Greek Ἰτουπαία cannot be used as the name of a country, though he thinks that in Latin *Ituræa* can have that sense. The interpretation quoted by Lagarde, *l.c.*, p. 193, Ἰτουπαία, δρεινῇ, seems to be merely an inference from the Greek term Τραχωνίτις.]

³ It is quite possible that the people had ceased to be known by this name in the fourth century; but I do not intend to assert that it was so. Schürer points out that Ituræi existed as late as 254-59: Vopiscus, *Vit. Aurel.*, 11.

νίτιδος χώρας cannot have the meaning which Mr. Chase assumed that it must have, for the following reasons, all of which we have discussed.

(1) *Ἰτρουπαία* is only an adjective, never a noun. To say that Luke used it as a noun is as much an error as to say that in the expression "the Bedouin and desert country" Bedouin is a noun, and the name of a land.

(2) Taking it as an adjective, we find that Luke is correct as a historian and perhaps even as a geographer, but taking it as a noun we find him making a false statement about the sovereignty of Philip.

(3) Eusebius, who on the interpretation of the words of Luke is the most satisfactory authority that could be found, confirms our interpretation in reiterated statements, slightly modifying the expression to make the meaning still clearer. He also confirms Luke in the geographical point.

(4) There never was a country Ituræa with a recognised and defined character; nothing existed beyond "the district over which the semi-nomadic Ituræans (Bedouin) roamed," i.e. *ἡ Ἰτρουπαίων*. Hence we see why *ἡ Ἰουδαία*, a real country, is correct; but *ἡ Ἰτρουπαία* is so pointedly and carefully avoided by all ancient authors. It is therefore a mistake in method on Dr. Schürer's part to begin by assuming that a country Ituræa exists, and then try to localize it.

Now that Ituræa has been demonstrated to be a figment, I repeat my assertion that the Greek words *must* have the meaning which Lightfoot and I have attributed to them, and that the rendering as a noun which Mr. Chase clings to is grammatically unjustifiable.

I claim to have in one more instance demonstrated Lightfoot's intuition and sense for the Greek of the period. He first, so far as I know, showed what was the proper way of taking these two passages.¹

¹ But, if the history of this interpretation be investigated, it will probably be found that several of the older scholars were right. Mr. Souter has sent me some quotations.

The next question is about τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν. I should try to prove the correctness of my interpretation on the following grounds, which I put together in rather haphazard order.¹

(1) Even if we allow that Φρυγίαν here may be a noun, the North-Galatian theory is inconsistent with the rule as to the use of the common article which the author of Acts observes.

(2) In the second century local usage Γαλατικὴ χώρα was pointedly distinguished in sense from Γαλατία, and could not (as the North-Galatian theory demands) be used as a mere synonym for Γαλατία.

(3) In the second century local usage Φρυγία χώρα was probably distinguished from Φρυγία used as a noun.

(4) The well-marked purpose of the paragraph xvi. 6-10 is turned into a false rhetorical device on the North-Galatian theory.

(5) The North-Galatian theory does not take διήλθον in the sense which is characteristic of the usage of this writer, and moreover, it makes Paul act in a way quite out of keeping with his ordinary method of travel and work.

(6) The North-Galatian theory lands every one of its advocates in geographical absurdities.

Some of these reasons are in themselves far from conclusive, and the North-Galatian theory can always be maintained by any one who is willing to accept a large allowance of gaps and dislocations and "omissions" in the narrative. These have to be so numerous that formerly I drew the inference absolutely which still seems to me necessary if the North-Galatian theory be adopted: such a narrative is not original first-hand history. But in every one of these cases the South-Galatian theory takes the terms in the way that is characteristic of the author's usage and of the first cen-

¹ The arguments are those which came before me during the Christmas vacation, my only available time for investigation at present.

tury ; it finds no " omissions " or dislocations ; and it shows how the changes of the second century led necessarily to the general misunderstanding in which the events have since been involved. I hope hereafter to prove by the same argument the South-Galatian theory and the first-hand and first-century character of *Acts*.

But from the length to which this exposition has already run, it is obvious that controversy must here cease on my side, leaving the word to Mr. Chase. Especially the fifth of this list of reasons cannot be stated adequately except by a long investigation (which is fully written, and in part printed long since), while the last is difficult to put in reasonable compass without incurring the charge of dogmatic self-confidence.

This is the penalty of replying to a critic. If one investigates a point thoroughly, one incurs the charge of going off on side issues or of wearying the public. If one omits any side or aspect of the facts bearing on any point, one is exposed to the charge of omitting facts of vital importance, and consequently of giving an inaccurate view of the case. On the Ituræans I suffer on both charges ; to many I seem to have said too much, while others find that I have omitted much that ought to be said if the case is to be fairly judged ; but, where I have refrained from discussing, I fully considered the points omitted.

Briefly, then, while acknowledging fully that my discussion of the subject is inadequate, I cannot find that Mr. Chase has added a single fact, or taken a view that helps me to complete my many defects in a single case. In the estimation of several acquaintances, his strongest point was the noun *Ἰτροπαίης* in Luke iii. 1 ; and I have shown in a too short and allusive argument that the word can only be an adjective.

In order to avoid the charge of having first made a statement and then shrunk from arguing it out, a word must be

added on each of the two other points referred to in my first article.¹

The question as to *μὲν οὖν* practically comes to this. Does the paragraph begin with xvi. 6, as Westcott and Hort, etc., say, or with xvi. 5, as Tischendorf, etc., hold? There are good authorities on each side; and the South-Galatian theory is independent of the question. In my humble judgment the artistic flow of the narrative is ruined by Tischendorf's arrangement. Mr. Chase differs. Our Cambridge friends have emphasized in *THE EXPOSITOR*, January, 1893, the extraordinary care shown by Hort in regard to the minutest detail and comma of his text. His own friends and pupils are my authority for believing that, when he placed a break of his largest character, in one case at least, between a *μὲν οὖν* and a following *δέ* (altering thereby a text given by other great scholars), he had considered the point with the same care and cool judgment that characterised the rest of his work, and that he deliberately concluded that this arrangement (far from "obscuring the connexion," as Mr. Chase thinks it does) was calculated best to bring out the sense, the logical connexion, and the literary form of his author. I venture to agree with his judgment, consciously now, formerly unconsciously.

The question as to the sequence of the verbs and of the thought in xvi. 6-8 opens up a wide investigation. I maintain (asking liberty to complete and to improve the statement) my former point of view. Although the South-Galatian theory is quite reconcilable with the interpretation of *κωλυθέντες* as giving a reason for *διήλθον*, my personal preference is for the view already followed in my book. I venture to think that the construction is characteristic of the author, and characteristic of the period and of the development of style that mark it. I am ready to argue

¹ What is here said is not written in haste, but rests on a pile of MS., and is the result of as dispassionate a study as I am capable of making.

that both present and aorist participles are sometimes used by this and other authors along with a verb to indicate an action closely connected with that of the verb (often one that arises directly out of that of the verb), but subsequent to it logically and (in the general view) chronologically. And a more extreme statement is also, in my humble opinion, correct; even a past participle is used in that way in Latin. This usage is not known to me before Livy,¹ and it is perhaps characteristic of, and caused by, the change of thought and expression that accompanied the changed circumstances of life and manners under the early Empire. I would venture to suggest to Mr. Chase that a study of the gradual development of the view held on this point of syntax by that excellent scholar, O. Riemann, would be instructive. Meantime, I might express my view in the last words² which he wrote on this subject before his premature death (though he goes even further, and is less guarded in his statement than I am): il arrive souvent chez Tite-Live que le participe *passé*, actif ou passif, au lieu de marquer un fait *antérieur* à celui qu'exprime la proposition principale, marque une circonstance qui *accompagne* ou *suit* l'action principale." Thus in Livy, xxvii. 5, 9 we find *in Siciliam tramisit . . . Lilybaeum revectus*, and in Acts xvi. 6 we find διήλθον τὴν χώραν κωλυθέντες. The Livian usage is the more extreme of the two, for *revectus* is the extreme limit and end of the action described in *tramisit*, while *κωλυθέντες* is coincident in time with the latter part of the action of διήλθον. (See also Virgil, *Georg.*, I. 206, etc.)

Were this question to be argued out, numerous examples which justify in the completest way my interpretation of Acts xvi. 6 might be quoted. That interpretation may be

¹ Riemann, however, says only, cet emploi du participe passé semble être plus fréquent chez Tite-Live que chez Cicéron ou chez César.

² The italics in the quotation are given as in Riemann's edition of Livy, xxvi.-xxx., p. 482.

wrong, or it may be right; the question is a fair one for discussion, and I shall read with care any reasons Mr. Chase has to advance showing that it is wrong. But when he says that a writer who spoke as, on my understanding, the author of Acts xvi. 6 did, "would be incapable of writing half a page of intelligible narrative, . . . it would not be worth while to waste our energies in studying his writings any more; they would remain beyond, because below, criticism," he merely betrays deficiency in knowledge of language and style in the period under discussion.

One other point. Mr. Chase says my words, "they passed through Mysia," are wrong, and that the Greek means, "they skirted Mysia without passing through it" (p. 409 n.). I maintain that my translation is correct grammatically and necessary geographically. In discussing St. Paul's methods of travel, I have examined the whole passage, have traced his path step by step through Mysia, showing that this is the *necessary*¹ sense of the Greek, and is guaranteed by a local tradition, which can be traced back probably as far as the second century, and possibly to the Apostle's friend, Onesiphorus; but this, like many other things, must wait. Meantime, I can only say that, in one point after another on which Mr. Chase is so confident in his statements and so free in his condemnations, I find no quite sufficient support for them either in the width or in the accuracy of his argument. His good intention and honesty of purpose, which led him to undertake the "task of testing theories and checking hasty conclusions," are obvious to every reader; but these qualities, excellent as they are, are not by themselves sufficient for the discharge of that most difficult, important, and responsible task.

¹ I do not mean necessary grammatically; on that ground Mr. Chase is quite justifiable, of course; but necessary on a wide view of the practice and usage of terms denoting travel in *Acts*. Also Mr. Chase does not explain how Paul could possibly reach Troas by "skirting" Mysia. Unless he went by sea he must have gone through Mysia.

Before passing from this subject, let us touch on the question of style; and devote a moment to settling our ideas about the author of *Acts*, and his style and rank as a writer. Let us put aside all prepossessions and estimate this chronicler according to his own claims as an historical authority.¹ This author (whom with Mr. Rendall, *EXPOSITOR*, 1893, p. 333, I believe to have been connected with Philippi²), appears to me to deserve a very high rank. His language will bear the most microscopic examination, and will repay it. The selection and arrangement of his materials show consummate art; and when we are struck with any apparent omission, or any seeming awkwardness, we should always scrutinize the place with redoubled care, for in such cases the seeming fault will perhaps be found due to a misapprehension of the writer's aim. He has observed several nice rules of language, thoroughly Greek in spirit, yet peculiar to himself in the form he has given them in order to satisfy delicate considerations of clearness and sense. Careful examination of these usages makes it possible to argue that the book is the composition of one hand, but that more than one written authority lay before the writer and influenced his expression; that the writer claims, and intends to bring out by various subtle touches (including the use of *we* and other devices) his claim, to have been present with Paul on certain occasions; that he describes with peculiar care, and

¹ This is a part of Roman social history, and is "taken for the moment out of the theological domain." My aim is to treat the author of *Acts* exactly as I would treat the author of the *Libri ab excessu Divi Augusti*. Thinking nothing about his theology, but only about his history and topography, I find in him many details which are redolent of the first century, and are (so far as my opinion is of any value) anachronistic and impossible in a writer of the second century. It may be that his facts are not all correct: in some cases the balance of evidence now accessible seems to be against his correctness. But I cannot find that first century historians were all unimpeachably accurate in their narrative; and such inaccuracies as occur are as intelligible in a writer of 60-90 as in a writer of 150.

² I shall advance other arguments besides his to this effect.

leads up with remarkable art to, the occasion when he first met the Apostle; and that his general plan is such that, if Paul had founded an important series of churches in any country, the author would not have passed over the fact in silence, except through ignorance, which would be fatal to the supposition of intimate acquaintance.

On this last point it is necessary to put very clearly the difference between Mr. Chase and myself. He says on p. 412, "Professor Ramsay cannot believe that, if St Paul really penetrated into Northern Galatia, St Luke would have given so little information about his visit there." This he meets by referring to other cases of "little information"; and he quotes Lightfoot, "nothing is more striking than the want of proportion in the *Acts*." On this subject an expression of Aristotle's rises to my mind. He says that scientific knowledge starts from the wonder felt that a thing should be so: it culminates in the state where one would wonder if the thing were not so. So with the silences of *Acts*, with which, as Mr. Chase says, "every student must have been struck" (p. 413). They are dictated by his plan, and form part of his intention, whereas silence about Galatian churches, if an important group existed, is inconsistent with that plan. The stages by which Judaic Christianity became the Church of the Empire and of the world are the subject of this prose epic; and idealized proportion, not the want of it, is its most striking characteristic. I should be surprised to find the foundation of the Galatian churches dismissed (as it is on the North-Galatian theory) with the same notice as the journey across Pisidia, which resulted in nothing and had no effect on history. That would be out of keeping with my conception of this historian's character and literary faculty; but, as Mr. Chase says, he cannot agree with me "as to what could or could not be written by a Greek author 'with any literary faculty.'" We are thoroughly agreed that our conceptions

of this historian's style are absolutely diverse; and it must, I believe, always be the case that an adherent of the North-Galatian theory will take a lower view of the style and art of this author than I do.

The controversy with Mr. Chase is ended on my side. Undertaken unwillingly, carried on with growing distaste, it seemed to me a duty. Whether it was so others may judge. If I have in any case spoken too sharply, I regret it. But while I would gladly have refrained from speaking at all, I am constitutionally unable, when I have to speak, to do anything beyond saying bluntly and plainly what I think. The task of expressing myself is so difficult that it absorbs my whole thought, and nothing exists consciously in my mind except the overwhelming eagerness to explain clearly what has to be stated. Mr. Chase says that I have not shown "the care and accuracy that are incumbent on a scholar." The accusation is, in my estimation, almost the gravest that can be made in the situation; and it is the only one, perhaps, that could at present have roused me to complete the work I began and intended to leave unfinished.

A word must be added, before closing, on the wider question (purposely left out by me) initiated by Dr. G. A. Smith as to the names Trachonitis and Ituræi.

Dr. Smith, who thinks that Dr. Schürer "has clearly shown that Ituræa and Trachonitis were originally distinct," starts with the assumption that there was a country Ituræa, *i.e.*, he in the beginning assumes the very point at issue. He wrote his paper in the belief that Josephus used the name, and that therefore there was a country to which the name applied. Then, at the last moment, he concedes in a note, p. 236, that Josephus did not use the name; but still he retains all the argument whose sole foundation is the false reading of Josephus. While he

emphasizes the looseness and variability of names in that land, he yet finds that this name Ituræa (whose very existence is disputed, and is given up by himself) extended "as far as the border of Trachonitis," though it cannot be proved that they ever overlapped. That he allows to be quite possible, but the express statements of Luke and of Eusebius that they did overlap do not, in Dr. Smith's estimation, suffice to convert the possibility into a demonstration: "we have no proof that their names ever overlapped."

I have not space to show in detail how Dr. Smith's actual statement of the ancient evidence is affected by his assumption that a "distinct territory" Ituræa existed. Had there been a "land of the Ituræi" distinct from other geographical districts, there would have been a name for it. Trachonitis is a Greek foreign name; what did its Semitic inhabitants call themselves? Surely Ptolemy's phrase *Τραχωνῖται Ἀραβες* compared with Dio's *Ἰτροπαίων Ἀράβων* shows that Luke and Eusebius are right in giving Ituræi as the rough current designation of the people of Trachonitis. The whole distance from Anti-Lebanon to Trachon is twenty-eight miles (p. 236 *n.*); yet, when names were puzzling and varying, and Trachonitis extended far beyond Trachon, and "Ituræa" extended far east of Anti-Lebanon (p. 236, *l.* 12), I cannot agree that there is no evidence that they ever did more than reach exactly up to one another.

Dr. Smith repeatedly endorses Dr. Schürer's argument as to the Lebanon: since Ituræi are several times mentioned in the Lebanon in the last century and a half B.C., therefore the Lebanon is the real Ituræa, and the references to Ituræi in other districts are due either to extension of that people to south and east, or (according to the latter) to errors of Christian writers bent on supporting Luke iii. 1. They allow no place in their reasoning to the possibility or probability that a warrior-tribe of nomad Bedouin took advantage of the weak state of government in Syria while

the Seleucid rule was dying, to overrun part of the more settled and peaceful country. Dr. Schürer's words, *alle historische Zeugnisse weisen auf's bestimmteste nach dem Libanon*, resemble the argument of a man who should urge that, because indisputable historical testimony shows the Arabs in Syria during the seventh to ninth centuries, therefore the Arabs were, strictly speaking, a Syrian people who extended their hold over part of the country towards the south.

The Ituræi were (as Dr. Smith describes them in his eloquent and picturesque way) the one warlike tribe of the whole region. They were Ishmaelites, as he says, or Bedouin, as I have called them. The true home of such a race is, I venture to think, not the long settled and well-governed land between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon,¹ but the country stretching from Anti-Lebanon south-east as far as the situation assigned them on Kiepert's maps. They were at home where we find them in earlier centuries, and in later centuries along with the other Ishmaelite tribes, engaged in continual warfare with even Reuben and Gad (1 Chron. v. 19), stretching far enough south to be named along with Moab by Epiphanius, and associated with the Arabs, in repeated references. I cannot see how language like this can justify Dr. Schürer in making the Lebanon district their proper and sole home. Dr. Smith seems to me to express the exact facts, when he says, p. 236, "Such language cannot refer to the main range of Anti-Lebanon, but must mean districts to the east of that, and therefore we must conclude that the Ituræans extended a good deal further east than Schürer seems willing to admit." These fierce and warlike nomads ranged over the eastern lands; no country was named after them, but districts called by various geographical names, Auranitis, Trachonitis, etc., were equally infested

¹ A people whose centre was there would not have preserved their rude, warlike, barbarian freedom, throughout the strict government of the powerful Seleucid kings. That the Ituræi extended from the east up to Anti-Lebanon is conceded on my side.

by them. When the Syrian administration was weak they pushed their power even into Galilee and into Cœle-Syria; when government grew stronger they were driven back to the east. As Roman administration advanced, it pursued its usual policy, first putting these frontier tribes under the rule of kings dependent on the empire, such as Philip, and finally incorporating them in the empire. As the empire advanced, nomadism disappeared, and the population of Auranitis, Trachonitis, etc., settled to the arts of peace, cities sprang up where nomad encampments had once been the rule; and the Ituræans disappeared, for the nomadic name is always dropped by the reformed nomad.¹ Hence we find that Ituræi are hardly spoken of as existing later than the third century.

The passage of Luke iii. 1 gives us the clue to understand this whole historical process. I vainly tried to form any connected historical idea of the Ituræans until that passage showed the true path. Then every other reference becomes clear and natural. Without that passage, the subject remains as obscure, perplexing, and inconsistent with itself as it seems to me to be in the discussions of Dr. Schürer and Dr. Smith.

I shall not dispute with Dr. Smith about the value of Eusebius's evidence, being independent of it. I merely point out that he practically denies that a statement by Eusebius has any topographical value. Eusebius, he says, makes mistakes.² So, I may add, does Strabo in regard to Asia Minor; but I reckon Strabo by far the highest authority on Asia Minor. It is one thing to make an error

¹ Even in Turkey, where progress is so slow, the nomadic Turkmen tribe settles down into the Turkish villager; and the name Turkmen is dropped (unless difference of religion preserves it in the memory of the neighbourhood, for many Turkmens are Kizil-bash and abhorred by the orthodox Turks).

² Dr. Smith was misled by a bad edition of Josephus: had Eusebius always an immaculate text? Is it not notorious that good MSS. were hardly procurable and that erroneous texts were the rule in ancient times?

in a minute point; it is a very different thing to identify two large countries that are quite distinct from one another; and, if Eusebius does this in the case of a country (to use Dr. Smith's expression) which once even included his own city Paneas, what value remains for his evidence in other cases? But Dr. Smith knows infinitely more on that point than I do; his proof will be given in his eagerly expected *Geography*. He is not likely to make the common error of demanding from a fourth century author the kind of evidence we expect from one of the nineteenth; demanding in him the accuracy which we are now-a-days so apt to require from every one except ourselves.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE PREMIER IDEAS OF JESUS.

IV. THE CULTURE OF THE CROSS.

It has been said, with a superb negligence of Judaism, that Jesus discovered the individual; it would be nearer the truth to affirm that Jesus cultivated the individual. Hebrew religion had endowed each man with the right to say I, by inspiring every man with the faith to say God, and Jesus raised individuality to its highest power by a regulated process of sanctification. Nothing is more characteristic of Jesus' method than His indifference to the many—His devotion to the single soul. His attitude to the public, and His attitude to a private person were a contrast and a contradiction. If His work was likely to cause a sensation, Jesus charged His disciples to let no man know it (St. Matt. ix. 30): if the people got wind of Him He fled to solitary places (St. John vi. 3): if they found Him, as soon as might be, He escaped (John vi. 15). But He used to take young men home with Him, who wished to ask questions (St. John i. 39): He would spend all night with a perplexed scholar

(St. John iii. 2) : He gave an afternoon to a Samaritan woman (St. John iv.). He denied Himself to the multitude : He lay in wait for the individual. This was not because He under-valued a thousand, it was because He could not work on the thousand scale : it was not because He over-valued the individual, it was because His method was arranged for the scale of one. Jesus never succeeded in public save once, when He was crucified : He never failed in private save once, with Pontius Pilate. His method was not sensation : it was influence. He did not rely on impulses : He believed in discipline. He never numbered converts because He knew what was in man (St. John ii. 24, 25) : He sifted them as one winnoweth the wheat from the chaff. Spiritual statistics are unknown in the Gospels : they came in with St. Peter in the pardonable intoxication of success : they have since grown to be a mania. As the Church coarsens she estimates salvation by quantity, how many souls are saved : Jesus was concerned with quality, after what fashion they were saved. His mission was to bring Humanity to perfection.

Human nature has been a slow evolution, and Jesus restricted Himself to the highest reaches. He did not say one word on the health of the body, although He is the only man in history that never knew sickness. Health is a matter of physiology : it is assumed in the ideal of Jesus. The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink : it is Righteousness, and Peace and Joy. He proposed no rules for the training of the mind and did not condescend to write a book, although every one recognises Jesus as the Prophet of our Race. Mental culture is the province of Literature, and Literature is lower than the highest, for Jesus once cried in a rapture, "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of Heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes" (St. Matt. xi. 25). The mind is greater than the body ; but there is one place more sacred still where God is en-

shrined, and the affections, like cherubim, bend over the Will. The Soul is the holiest of all, whose curtains no master dared to raise till Jesus entered as the High Priest of Humanity, and it is in this secret place Jesus works. There are three steps in the Santa Scala which the Race is slowly and painfully ascending; barbarism where men cultivate the body, civilization where they cultivate the intellect, holiness where they cultivate the soul. There is for the whole Race, for each nation, for every individual, the age of Homer, the age of Socrates, the age of Jesus. Beyond the age of Jesus nothing can be desired or imagined, for it runs on those lofty tablelands where the soul lives with God.

Jesus rid Himself of every other interest, and for three years gave Himself night and day to the culture of the human soul as a naturalist to the cultivation of a rare plant, or a scientist to the conquest of the electric force. He selected twelve men from the multitude that offered themselves (St. Matt. x. 1), whom he considered malleable and receptive for his discipline. They became His disciples on whom He lavished labour He could not afford to the world (St. Matt. xiii. 18), and He became their Master to whom they had committed themselves for treatment (St. John vi. 68). Jesus separated these men from the world and kept them under observation night and day: He studied their failings and idiosyncrasies: He applied His method in every kind of circumstance and with calculated degrees of intensity. With a maximum of failure, one out of twelve: with a maximum of success, eleven men of such spiritual force that they gave another face to the world and lifted the Race to its highest level. The Gospels contain the careful account of this delicate experiment in religious science, and Jesus' exposition of the principle of sainthood. Christianity for nineteen centuries has been the record of its application.

Spiritual culture demands an Ideal as well as a Discipline, and Jesus availed Himself of the Ideal of the Prophets. Their chief discovery was the character of God—when the Hebrew conscience, the keenest religious instrument in the ancient world, lifted the veil from the Eternal, and conceived Jehovah as the impersonation of Righteousness. Their chief service was the insistence on the duty of Righteousness—who placed in parallel columns the characters of God and man, and dared to believe that every man ought to be the replica of God. Their text was the Holy One,—their endless and unanswerable sermon, Holiness. Jesus adopted the obligation of Holiness, but changed it into a Gospel by revealing the latent relationship between man and God. Had one asked the Hebrew Prophet, Why ought I to be holy? he had replied at his best, because Holiness is the law of your being. Jesus accepted the law, but added, because a son ought to be like his Father. The Law without became an instinct within. Holiness is conformity to type, and the one standard of perfection is God Himself. Set the soul at liberty, and its history will be a perpetual approximation to God. "Be ye holy, for I am holy," said the Old Testament. "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect," said Jesus (St. Matt. v. 45, 48).

With a soul that is imperfect, discipline would simply be development. With a soul that is sinful, discipline must begin with deliverance. Jesus, as the Physician of the soul, had not merely to do with growth: He had to deal with deformity; and Jesus, who alone has analysed sin, has alone prescribed its cure. Before Jesus, people tried to put away sin by the sacrifice of bulls and goats, and so exposed themselves to the merciless satire of the Prophets; since Jesus, people have imagined that they could be loosed from their sins by the dramatic spectacle of Jesus' death, and so have made the crucifixion of none effect. If sin be a

principle in a man's life, then it is evident that it cannot be affected by the most pathetic act in history exhibited from without, it must be met by an opposite principle working from within. If sin be selfishness, as Jesus taught, then it can only be overcome by the introduction of a spirit of self-renunciation. Jesus did not denounce sin: negative religion is always impotent. He replaced sin by virtue, which is a silent revolution. As the light enters, the darkness departs, and as soon as one renounced himself, he had ceased from sin.

Jesus placed His disciples under an elaborate and calculated regimen, which was intended at every point to check the fever of self-will, and reduce the swollen proportions of our lower self. They were to repress the petty ambitions of society. "When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down in the highest room . . . but when thou art bidden, go and sit down in the lowest room" (St. Luke xiv. 8-10). They were to mortify the self-importance and vain dignity that will not render commonplace kindness. "If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet" (St. John xiii. 14). They were not to wrangle about place, or seek after great things. "Jesus took a child, and set him by Him, and said unto them, . . . he that is least among you all, the same shall be great" (St. Luke ix. 47, 48). They were not to insist on rights and resist injustice fiercely. "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also" (St. Matt. v. 39, 40). Jesus once cast into keen contrast the life of the world, which one was inclined to follow, and the life of the Kingdom His disciples must achieve. "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them"—that is the

self-life where men push and rule. "But so shall it not be among you: but whosoever shall be great among you, shall be your minister" (St. Mark x. 42, 43)—this is the selfless life where men submit and serve.

Jesus' regimen had two degrees. The first was self-denial; the second was suffering, which is self-denial raised to its full strength. If a young man really desired to possess "ageless life," he must sell all he had and give to the poor (St. Mark x. 21). If a publican desired the Kingdom of God, he must leave all and follow Jesus (St. Luke v. 28). Men might have to abandon everything they possessed and every person they loved, for Jesus' sake and the Gospel's (St. Mark x. 29). The very instincts of nature must be held in check, and at times laid on the altar. "He that loveth father and mother more than Me is not worthy of Me, and he that loveth son or daughter more than Me is not worthy of Me" (St. Matt. x. 37). This was not the senseless asceticism that supposed life could be bought by money, and it was still less the jealousy of a master that grudged any affection given to another. It was the illustration of that Selflessness which is the Law of Holiness, the enforcement of that death which is the gate of Life. It was the exposition of Jesus' famous paradox, "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it" (St. Matt. x. 39). Behold His discipline of perfection, upon which in a moment of fine inspiration Jesus conferred the name of the Cross. The Cross is the symbol of self-renunciation and self-sacrifice, and is Jesus' method of salvation. If any one desires to be saved by Jesus, this is how he is going to be saved. It is the "Secret of Jesus": the way which He has Himself trod, and by which He leads His disciples unto God. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow Me" (St. Matt. xvi. 24).

The Cross was an open secret to the first disciples, and

they climbed the steep ascent to Heaven by the "Royal Way of the Holy Cross," but its simplicity has been often veiled in later days. Perhaps the simplicity of the symbol has cast a glamour over the modern mind and blinded us to its strenuous meaning. Art, for instance, with an unerring instinct of moral beauty, has seized the Cross and idealized it. It is wrought in gold and hung from the neck of light-hearted beauty; it is stamped on the costly binding of Bibles that go to church in carriages; it stands out in bold relief on churches that are filled with easy-going people. Painters have given themselves to crucifixions, and their striking works are criticised by persons who praise the thorns in the crown, but are not quite pleased with the expression on Jesus' face, and then return to their pleasures. Composers have cast the bitter Passion of Jesus into stately oratorios, and fashionable audiences are bathed in tears. Jesus' Cross has been taken out of His hands and smothered in flowers: it has become what He would have hated, a source of graceful ideas and agreeable emotions. When Jesus presented the Cross for the salvation of His disciples, He was certainly not thinking of a sentiment, which can disturb no man's life, nor redeem any man's soul, but of the unsightly beam which must be set up in the midst of a man's pleasures, and the jagged nails that must pierce his soul.

Theological science has also shown an unfortunate tendency to monopolize the Cross and use it for her own purposes, till the symbol of salvation has been lifted out of the ethical setting of the Gospels and planted in an environment of doctrine. The Cross has been traced back to decrees and inserted into covenants: it has been stated in terms of Justification and Propitiation. This is a misappropriation of the Cross: it is a violation of its purpose. None can belittle the function of the Queen of Sciences or deny her right to theorize regarding the Divine Purposes and the Eternal Righteousness, but it has been a disaster to involve

the Cross in these profound speculations. When Theology has said her last word on the Cross it is a mystery to the common people ; when Jesus says His first word it is a plain path. Jesus did not describe His Cross as a satisfaction to God, else He had hardly asked His disciples to share it ; He always spoke of it as a Regeneration of man, and therefore Jesus declares that if any man be His disciple he must carry it daily. Theology has one territory, which is theory ; Religion has another, which is life, and the Cross belongs to Religion. The Gospels do not represent the Cross as a judicial transaction between Jesus and God, on which He throws not the slightest light, but as a new force which Jesus has introduced into life, and which He prophesies will be its redemption. The Cross may be made into a doctrine ; it was prepared by Jesus as a discipline.

There are two methods of healing for the body, and they are not on the same moral level. One physician prescribes a medicine whose ingredients are unknown, and whose operation is instantaneous, which is certain for all and the same for all. The patient swallows it and is cured without understanding and without co-operation. This is cure by magic, and is very suspicious. Another physician makes his diagnosis and estimates the symptoms, selects his remedy in correspondence with the disease, and takes his patient into his confidence. He enlists one's intelligence, saying, You must have this medicine, because you have that disease. There is no secrecy, for there is nothing to hide : there is no boasting, for so much depends on the patient. This is cure by science. There are two kinds of Religion for the relief of man. One offers a formula to be accepted and swallowed. It may be in the form of a sacrament, or of a text, or of a view. But as soon as the person receives it without doubt, he is saved. If he wishes to understand the How of the operation, he is assured that it is an incomprehensible mystery. Here there is no connection with

reason, no action of the Will. It is salvation by magic. The other religion makes a careful analysis of sin, and proposes a course of treatment which a man can understand and apply. It is an antidote to the poison acting directly and gradually, in perfect harmony with the laws of human nature. Is one willing to make a trial? then he can enter into its meaning and test its success. This is salvation by science, and it is not the least excellence in Jesus' method that it is grounded on reason and can be tried by experience. The action of the Cross on sin is as simple in its higher sphere as the reduction of fever by antipyrine or of inflammation by a counter-irritant in physical disease.

Jesus does not appeal to authority for the sanction of His method—always a hazardous resort. He rests on facts which lie to every one's hands. Self-examination is the vindication of the Cross. Is not every man conscious of a strange duality, so that he seems two men? There is the self who is proud, envious, jealous—a lower self. There is the self which is modest, generous, ungrudging, a higher self. Just as the lower self is repressed the higher lives; just as the lower is pampered the higher dies. We are conscious of this conflict and desire that the evil self be crushed, mortified, killed; that the better self be liberated, fed, developed. It goes without saying that the victory of the evil self would be destruction, that the victory of the better self would be salvation. It is at this point Jesus comes in with His principle of self-renunciation. If any man will place himself under My direction, says Jesus, and take the rule from Me, "let him deny (*ἀπαρνησάσθω*) himself, and take up his cross and follow Me" (St. Matt. xvi. 24). As Peter would thrice deny (*ἀπαρνήσῃ*) his Lord, so must Jesus' disciple at all times deny his old self and refuse to know it. The habit of self-renunciation is the crucifixion of sin.

It were however a depreciation of the Cross to identify it with a remedy for sin: it is also in Jesus' mind a discipline

of perfection for the soul. It is more than a deliverance, it is an entrance into the life of God. The Cross is not only the symbol for the life of man, it is equally the symbol for the life of God, and it may indeed be said that the Cross is in the heart of God. Jesus has taught us that the equivalent of life is sacrifice, and it is with God that sacrifice begins. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son," said Jesus with profound significance, for His coming was the revelation of the Divine nature. The Incarnation was an act of sacrifice, so patent and so brilliant, that it has arrested every mind. It was sacrifice *in extremis* and therefore life *in excelsis*, an outburst and climax of Life. But Creation is also Sacrifice, since it is God giving Himself; and Providence is Sacrifice, since it is God revealing Himself. Grace is Sacrifice, since it is God girding Himself and serving. With God, as Jesus declares Him, Life is an eternal procession of gifts, a costly outpouring of Himself, an unwearied suffering of Love. To live is to love, to love is to suffer, and to suffer is to rejoice with a joy that fills the heart of God from age to age (St. John xv. 11-13). The mystery of Life, Divine and human, possibly the mystery of the Holy Trinity, is contained in these words of Jesus: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a corn of wheat fall into the ground it abideth alone, but if it die it bringeth forth much fruit. He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal" (St. John xii. 24, 25). The development of the soul is along the way of the Cross to the heights of life. As one of the mystics has it, "A life of carelessness is to nature and the self and the Me the sweetest and pleasantest, but it is not the best and to some men may become the worst. Though Christ's life be the most bitter of all, yet it is to be preferred above all." "What," asks Herder, "has close fellowship with God ever proved to man but a costly self-sacrificing service?" What

else could it be if Love is the law of spiritual Life throughout the universe.

Progress by suffering is one of Jesus' most characteristic ideas, and like every other, is embodied in the economy of human nature and confirmed by the sweep of human history. The Cross marks every departure: the Cross is the condition of every achievement. Modern Europe has emerged from the Middle Ages, Christianity from Judaism, Judaism from Egypt, Egypt from barbarism, with throes of agony. Humanity has fought its way upwards at the point of the bayonet, torn and bleeding, yet hopeful and triumphant. As each nation suffers, it prospers; as it ceases to suffer, it decays. Our England was begotten in the sore travail of Elizabeth's day. The American nation sprang from the sons of martyrs. United Germany was baptized in blood. The pioneers of science have lived hardly. The most original philosopher of modern times ground glasses for a living, and was the victim of incurable disease. The master poem of English speech was written by a blind and forsaken Puritan. The New World was found in spite of a hostile court and treacherous friends. Some have imagined an earthly paradise for the race, where it would have remained ignorant of good and evil, without exertion, without hardship. Jesus saw with clearer eyes. He made no moan over a lost Eden, He knew that it is a steep road that leads to the stars. Jesus believed that the price of all real life is suffering, and that a man must sell all that he has to buy the pearl of great price. Twice at least He lifted this experience into a law. "Enter ye in at the strait gate . . . because strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth unto life" (St. Matt. vii. 12-14). And again, after His glowing eulogy on John in his intensity: "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force" (St. Matt. xi. 12).

Jesus Himself remains for ever the convincing illustration of this severe culture. His rejection by a wicked generation and the outrages heaped upon Him seemed an unredeemed calamity to the disciples. His undeserved and accumulated trials were at times a burden almost too great for Jesus' own soul. But He entered into their meaning before the end, because they were bringing His Humanity to the fulness of perfection. Without His Cross Jesus had been poorer in the world this day and might have been unloved. It was suffering that wrought in Him that beauty of holiness, sweetness of patience, wealth of sympathy, and grace of compassion, which constitute His divine attraction, and are seating Him on His throne. Once when the cloud fell on Him, He cried, "Father, save Me from this hour"; when the cloud lifted, Jesus saw of the travail of His soul—"I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me" (St. John xii. 27, 32). In the upper room Jesus was cast down for an instant; then Iscariot went out to arrange for the arrest, and Jesus revived at the sight of the Cross: "Now is the Son of Man glorified" (St. John xiii. 31). Two disciples are speaking of the great tragedy as they walk to Emmaus, when the risen Lord joins them and reads the riddle of His Life. It was not a disaster: it was a design. "Ought not Christ to have suffered these things, and to enter into His glory?" (St. Luke xxiv. 26). The Perfection of Jesus was the fruit of the Cross.

"Thou must go without, go without—that is the everlasting song which every hour all our life through hoarsely sings to us"—is the profound utterance of a great teacher; but Jesus has said it better in His commandment of self-abnegation and His offer of the Cross. It has been the custom to make a contrast between John Baptist with his stern *régime* and Jesus with His gentle Gospel, but the difference was in spirit not in method. If the religion of John was strenuous, so was the religion of Jesus. It is a necessity

of the spiritual world Jesus Himself could not break. Hardness is of the essence of Religion, like the iron band within the golden crown. Jesus was willing to undertake the culture of every man's soul, but He knew no other way than the Cross. If His disciples wished to sit on His throne, they must drink His cup and be baptised with His baptism (St. Matt. xx. 23). Jesus did not walk one way Himself and propose another for the disciples, but invited them to His experience if they desired His attainment. His method was not the materialistic cross of Munkácsy, it was the mystical cross of Perugino. Jesus nowhere commanded that one cling to His Cross, He everywhere commanded that one carry His Cross, and out of this daily crucifixion has been born the most beautiful sainthood from St. Paul to St. Francis, from A'Kempis to George Herbert. For "there is no salvation of the soul nor hope of everlasting life but in the Cross."

JOHN WATSON.

BREVIA.

The Reading of Codex Bezae in Acts I. 2.—I have to thank Dr. MARCUS DODS for his kindly and appreciative notice of my book on *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae* in the February number of THE EXPOSITOR.

I have lately noticed a significant piece of evidence as to an important reading of that Codex. I shall be grateful if I may call the attention of any readers of THE EXPOSITOR interested in the matter to it.

In Acts i. 2 Codex Bezae reads as follows :—

αχρι της ημερας ανελημφθη εντειλαμενος τοις αποστολοις δια πνσ αγιου ους εξελεξατο και εκλευσε κηρυσσειν το ευαγγελιον.

The "true" text has αχρι της ημερας εντειλάμενος τοις αποστολοις δια πνεύματος αγίου ους εξελέξατο ἀνελήμφθη.

It will be convenient if I state briefly that the theory as to Codex Bezae, which I have endeavoured to substantiate in my book, is that the Greek text of that Codex is the result of assimilation to an old Syriac text,¹ or, to put the theory in a more

¹ That an old Syriac text of the Acts existed is clear from the fact that

[Mc.] xvi. 19, was linked to the words of [Mc.] xvi. 15, and the gloss thus formed was inserted in the text of Acts. i. 2.

This theory as to the Bezan gloss receives, as I believe, complete confirmation from the following passage of the ancient Syriac document—*The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle* (ed. Phillips, p. 33, Eng. Trans., p. 9): "And Abgar commanded that they should deliver to Addai silver and gold. Addai said to him: 'How are we able to receive anything which is not ours? for, behold, that which was ours we have forsaken, as we were commanded by our Lord to be without purses and without scribes, and carrying crosses upon our shoulders, *we were commanded to preach His Gospel to the whole creation.*'" The literal translation of the last clause is as follows: "We-were-commanded that-we-should-preach *His-Gospel* in-all-of-it creation (ܐܠܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ)." ¹

Here then in an ancient Syriac document, which is known to incorporate old Syriac and Tatianic readings in passages of the Gospels, we find our gloss, its form indeed just so far changed ("we-were-commanded") as to make it fit into its new context. Its occurrence here may, I think, be said to put it beyond doubt that the Bezan gloss in Acts i. 2 is a gloss from an old Syriac text. Further, the addition of the words "in-all-of-it creation" makes it certain that [Mark] xvi. 15, 19, is the source of the gloss.

In this case then I am able to appeal to something like documentary evidence, and this evidence confirms the conclusions to which a critical study of the Bezan text led me.

I may perhaps be allowed very briefly to call attention to two other Bezan readings. (i.) In Acts ii. 17, Codex Bezae reads *καὶ προφητευσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν*. For αὐτῶν the "true" text has υἱῶν. "The genesis" of this reading, I remarked (p. 18), "becomes obvious when we write side by side ܐܠܗܝܢ (your-sons), and ܡܠܟܐ (their-sons)." I have since noticed that we have an instance of the confusion between these two words in the Peshitta of 1 Cor. vii. 14: "and-if not, *their-children* (ܡܠܟܐ) unclean (were-)they," where the "true" Greek text has τὰ τέκνα υἱῶν. It may be noticed that this reading is found in the newly published Latin translation of the Armenian version of Ephrem's commentary on the Pauline Epistles: "Sin autem

¹ "His-Gospel" will be noticed. It shows that the Peshitta in "my-Gospel" is preserving an Old Syriac text.

id, quod dixi, ita non esset, ergo filii eorum juxta mentes illorum immundi essent."

(ii.) In Acts ii. 47, Codex Bezae reads, *εχοντες χαριν προς ολον τον κοσμον*. Instead of *κόσμον* the "true" text has *λαόν*. I pointed out that the Bezan reading points to the substitution in a Syriac text of ܠܠܢ (the-world) for ܠܠܢܐ (the-people), and that we find instances of this substitution in the Curetonian text of Matt. i. 21 (He shall save *the-world*), and in the Peshitta of Lc. ii. 10 (great joy which shall be to all *the-world*). I would now add that the converse change is found in Jn. xviii. 20 (*ἐγὼ παρρησίᾳ λελάληκα τῷ κόσμῳ*), where the Peshitta has "I openly (was) speaking with the-people (ܠܠܢ)." In these three passages of the Gospels there is, so far as I know, no authority for the variants except the Syriac texts. Further, in Jno. xii. 19 (*ὁ κόσμος ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ἀπήλθεν*) the old Latin *Codex Corbeiensis* (ff²) has "unus [=universus] *populus*"—a striking illustration of the connexion which seems to exist between the old Latin and the Syriac texts.

F. H. CHASE.

THE PENALTY OF PRIVILEGE.

"You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities."—*Amos* iii. 2.

At first it seems a glaring *non sequitur*. There seems no logical connection between the fact stated and the conclusion drawn. It comes with the shock of surprise. It would have been natural to expect—You have I known, therefore you can rely on my favour; you have God on your side, and may do with impunity things forbidden to others; I will forgive all your iniquities.

This was evidently the reasoning which the Israelites pursued; for Amos devotes the first two chapters of his prophecy to establish the general truth of God's impartial justice. He illustrates the fact that judgment infallibly follows sin, by predictions against all the nations round about Israel. Judgment is never an isolated thing, but every sentence is pronounced on fixed principles. The doom of Israel is all the greater, by reason of that very favour upon which they were counting for lenient treatment.

Man naturally presumes upon favour. It is hard even yet to

make men believe that God's law is universal, and acts with unerring precision. Deep down in our hearts there lurks the conviction, or at least the hope, that somehow we will be made an honourable exception, that somehow God will deal with us on special terms, and that the particular evil we commit does not affront God's righteous law as ordinary evil does. Responsibility proportions favour. In the last instance there is no respect of persons. If Israel received a special revelation, there was a special condition attached to the choice. Election of any sort carries with it its penalty. All the thought that these Israelites had was that through their election they would escape duty, and the punishment of the breach of duty. But they were not chosen for their own sake, but for the work's sake. God elects a man, or a nation, to a duty, not to a privilege. The privilege is along the line of the duty. A special providence means a special responsibility. The clearer the light you stand in, the denser the shadow you throw. "Because I have known you, *therefore* I will punish you."

The temptation of privilege is to mistake the grounds on which the privilege is bestowed. Men who covet election are ready to forget the penalty of election. This is a heresy specially possible for Evangelicalism. Paul protested often against the wrong conception of grace, which made it of magical efficacy as the sign of God's favour with man, apart from any moral reason for that favour.

But the heresy of Antinomianism is not a mere ecclesiastical curiosity in Church history. It has its roots of temptation in human nature. It is of a piece with many of our lax views of life to-day. How natural it is for a man, who is in any way specially gifted, to assume that he has some particular dispensation to be selfish because of his superior gifts. We hear, for example, about the divine right of genius. The claim has been put forward more than once, sometimes in a subtle form, in the case of the sin of a poet, or artist, or gifted man. Genius often thinks it has liberty to break all social rules, and every canon of taste, and even the moral law. It is not to be tried by the same standard as commonplace endowments. This is a form of the weak, flaccid, presuming on favour, which Amos condemns, and which forgets that a gift carries a price. It is the temptation of the artistic temperament. Genius has no divine right—it has some divine duties. It has a

divine right not to *have* something, but to *be* something. Every privilege is a penalty. Every right is a duty. Every gift is a responsibility.

Through the whole of life the principle runs. Unbelief has sometimes sneered at the Bible view of God's favouritism. The sneer has force, but in a vastly different line. Election, which is a fact of life, is a privilege, and it is therefore a penalty. It is a fearful thing to be God's favourite. To be chosen of God is a terror—and a glory. "Seemeth it but a small thing unto you that the God of Israel hath separated you from the congregation of Israel to bring you near to Himself?"

HUGH BLACK.

THE IMPLICIT PROMISE OF PERFECTION.

"The Lord will perfect that which concerneth me: Thy mercy, O Lord, endureth for ever. Forsake not the work of Thine own hands."—*Ps. cxxxviii. 8.*

THE chapel of San Lorenzo at Florence contains the monuments which Michael Angelo executed in memory of his princely patrons. On one of these marvellous tombs the sculptor has carved two reclining figures, to represent respectively the Night and the Day. Night is personified as a woman sunk in uneasy slumber. Day is portrayed in the shape of a man, who lifts himself in disturbed awakening. But this latter figure has never been finished. The limbs are partly chiselled, but the head and face are merely blocked out of the marble. Some interruption stayed the master's hand, and he left his work there imperfect and incomplete.

Now that half-finished statue in San Lorenzo is a parable of our human nature. There is the same strange pathetic sense of incompleteness, the same dumb prophecy of a perfection intended and required. The earnest expectation of the sculptor's ideal lies there, waiting to be manifest. That figure, which seems struggling to free itself from its stony shroud, if it could speak, would surely break out with St. Paul's longing: "Ah! wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" One could imagine the spirit of the mighty artist to be still haunting the silent chapel, drawn there by some mute reproach from those marble lips, beseeching him to perfect that which concerned them, to forsake not the work of his own hands.

The frame and fabric of mortal things are stamped with a like incompleteness. God's unfinished work is here—around us and within us—a wonderful fragment, full of the hint and hope of what He meant it to be. And His will, though it can be resisted, is never relinquished. An earthly artist may be hindered by sickness or mischance; sometimes he flings down his tools helplessly, in disgust at his own impotence; sooner or later Death cuts short his task. But the heavenly Worker fainteth not, neither is weary. His patience is like His mercy, it endureth for ever; and He has eternity to finish in. The character of God is the pivot on which this argument hinges: because He is what He is, therefore the fragment which He has begun becomes the prophecy of some better thing in which He shall make it perfect. Even in this fleshly prison we bear about the signature of a Divine ideal, the blurred outline of immortality. If we are Christians, we carry in our souls some tokens of what God is already doing in us to fulfil His design. And these things become the earnest of their own inheritance.

We should despair of the Christian life, if it were to be always the chequered struggle that it often is now, with our best vows broken, and our purest motives tainted, and our love of God Himself an infinite longing rather than an infinite satisfaction. These very imperfections speak the promise that God will at last make them perfect. Our very struggle is prophetic of its final victory. Our very shame and horror of evil are a pledge of robes to be one day washed white. Our hunger and thirst after righteousness may certify us that He who inspires it shall Himself satisfy it, when we awake with His likeness.

The day is coming when we Christians shall have done with failure and disappointment; we shall have conquered our last temptation, we shall be delivered from our last sin. "As it was in the beginning, so it never more shall be." We shall hunger no more neither thirst any more. Weariness, and doubt, and remorse, and pain, and parting, will all be over and gone. Now we know in part, and we prophesy in part. When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away. And "ye shall be perfect"—O unspeakable promise—"even as your Father in heaven is perfect."

T. H. DARLOW.

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THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM.

III.

THIS paper will discuss some of the objections which have been urged against the ethical teaching of Jesus.

I. It has sometimes been objected that Christian morality is one-sided, giving undue prominence to the feminine virtues—humility, resignation, obedience; too little place to the masculine qualities—courage, public spirit, personal honour. This objection may best be given in the words of John Stuart Mill: "What little recognition the idea of obligation to the public obtains in modern morality, is derived from Greek and Roman sources, not from Christian; as even in the morality of private life, whatever exists of magnanimity, high-mindedness, personal dignity, even the sense of honour, is derived from the purely human, not the religious, part of our education, and never could have grown out of a standard of ethics in which the only worth, professedly recognised, is that of obedience."

This seems to me partly wrong as a statement of fact, and wholly wrong in its assignment of a cause for the fact. Unquestionably, we have derived some impulse towards public spirit and personal honour from those races which have also handed down to us their ideas of law, government, and art. But it is also undeniable that the heroism and devotedness which had, up to that time, been the distinguishing mark of exceptional men, became, during the early centuries of the Christian Church, the common property of women and of slaves. It could not be otherwise, because even more impressive than the courage of a Socrates or the

honour of a Regulus were the dignity and self-possession of Jesus. From His person and life there flowed a continual stream of inspiration to conduct and to deeds surpassing in magnanimity and in heroism anything which was possible to the ancient world.

It is, however, true that in the verbal teaching of our Lord emphasis is laid upon the virtues of holiness, submission, obedience. But why? Mainly because Jesus was not a philosopher elaborating a system of morals, but a practical teacher, applying Himself to the circumstances in which He found Himself. His teaching, both as to the motive, the contents, and the criterion of morality, implies a system, but He is at no pains to develop it. His teaching has regard to the previously existing Old Testament code; and He does not go over that code point by point, either to abrogate, confirm, or amend it. He merely gives specimens of such a procedure. The virtues which already had become hereditary among the Jews He is not careful to inculcate. Imagine a teacher inculcating patriotism on a Jew. He might as well go to Ireland or to Scotland with such a lesson. It was a bringing into prominence of the balancing virtues which was needed, the virtues of self-abnegation, forgiveness of injuries, and meekness. Vices which did not exist there was no need for a practical teacher to condemn; it was the vices which did exist which prompted most of His teaching. And in order to exhibit that teaching in its completeness, we must be careful to set in due proportion and perspective all that He found already accepted and did not need to inculcate, as well as all that He emphasized and set in the foreground. Neglecting to do so, many good critics have given a distorted, lop-sided picture of Christ's teaching.

II. Another misapprehension of the kind of character and conduct inculcated by Christ arises from the neglect of a very obvious consideration. This consideration is, that the

life of Jesus was spent in conditions materially differing from those of modern European society, and that therefore it is impossible identically to reproduce everything which characterized Him. The great law for Christians in all times is, no doubt, given in the words, "Follow Me." But following Christ will produce in one age characteristic phenomena which it does not produce in another. We cannot now follow His visible presence, but only His Spirit. This regulates all our following. It is not the detail of His life or the external manifestations of His Spirit that we are to imitate, but through these we are to discern the guiding principles, the motives, the spirit itself of His life, and this we are to make our own. All beginners in any art are apt to look to detail, and to imitate that, but gradually they learn that it is not the external form, but the inner principles they must imitate. The young painter studies the masters, not that he may reproduce their pictures, but that he may find out how they looked at nature. It is not their paintings but themselves he is to imitate. If any learner does otherwise, and imitates only the results and not the principles which produced the results, he acquires only some trick or mannerism of method, and, besides, stunts his own individuality. To reproduce what is of value in any copy, model, or pattern, we must imbibe and assimilate the principles and ideas, the very life and spirit, which went to the original production. We need not live in Palestine, and speak Aramaic, though Christ did. We need not be celibates, though Christ was. We need not die the death He died. But we must partake of the spirit which led Him to do all that He did, and which made Him all He was in His humanity.

III. But the most serious charge brought against the ethical teaching of Christ is that it appeals to self-interest. "It holds out the hope of heaven and the threat of hell as the appointed and appropriate motives to a virtuous life; in

this falling far below the best of the ancients, and doing what lies in it to give to human morality an essentially selfish character, by disconnecting each man's feelings of duty from the interests of his fellow-creatures, except so far as a self-interested inducement is offered to him for consulting them." Mr. Cotter Morison quotes Paley's unfortunate description of the end of revelation: "If I were to describe in a very few words the scope of Christianity as a revelation, I should say that it was to influence the conduct of human life by establishing the proof of a future state of reward and punishment. . . . The great end and office of a revelation from God is to convey to the world authorised assurances of the reality of a future existence." "In other words," adds Mr. Morison, "the purpose of the mission of Christ was to make men fit for a future state of reward, and to supply sanctions which would deter them from conduct which would make them fit for a future state of punishment. . . . Salvation in the next world is the object of the scheme, not morality in this." Another writer quite truly says, "To secure heaven and escape hell awakens the same sort of anxiety which possesses a man who would escape from a crowded theatre when a cry of fire has been raised. His concern for his personal safety overmasters every other consideration, and his neighbours are trampled under foot and crushed to death in his frantic efforts to save himself." Certainly no language can too strongly condemn the mere selfish craving to escape punishment, when accompanied by no honest desire to escape sin, and every assailant of Christianity does it the best service when he exposes the poverty of such motives.

Disregarding what is erroneous in such accusations, let us endeavour to understand the function of reward in the Christian scheme. And, first of all, it is to be remarked that all difficulty about reward is solved when it is apprehended that Christ requires that all moral action should

spring from love. This is the new commandment which revolutionizes morals. When love rules, the hope of reward vanishes. The man in whom love is the motive, cannot ask himself what reward he shall have for seeking the good of others. Love cannot ask, What good return in the world to come will compensate for all self-sacrifice here? No such questions and calculations can be entertained, any more than the husband can ask what he shall have for loving his wife. The joy of life is in such unrewarded affections. The man who loves cannot think of a fulness of life that is to be: he already lives in loving. This is the key to the Christian morality. Christ brings all life within the scope of love; and he who loves has the reward in himself. Love is fulness of life.

Reward, however, is still spoken of and still offered; and that for several reasons.

(1) The object for which labour is spent is sometimes spoken of as the reward of labour. No sane person will toil and spend himself without an object. If he spends himself on Christ's kingdom, it is because he sees that something can be accomplished by such expenditure, and the attainment of this object is his reward. But in no case can this object be in Christ's kingdom purely selfish. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. xii.) Christ Himself is spoken of as being upheld in His endurance by "the joy that was set before Him"; but this joy was not the mere exemption from suffering which death brought, nor the entrance on selfish enjoyment, but the accomplishment of the redemption of men, the achievement of the object to which His love had prompted Him. This is the type of all Christian reward.

(2) Similarly, the nature of the reward offered by Christ furnishes no ground for selfish hope. In the Parables of the Talents and the Pounds, faithful servants are rewarded by increased capacities for work. The man who understands

life measures his success not by what he is able to get, but by what he is able to do ; so in every world, the possession of value is power to help things forward. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." This is in finest harmony with Aristotle's perfect definition of happiness, that it is a kind of energy. The happiest man is he who has most in himself to spend, and who most energetically spends it. Man's blessedness consists not in that which righteousness brings him, but in righteousness itself. The reward of righteousness is more righteousness.

(3) A condition, however, in which no appeal made to fear, or the hope of reward, is ideal. Dealing with men as they are, our Lord does not scruple to appeal to motives less than perfect. But the manner in which our Lord eradicated selfish and earthly hopes is most significant. In Matthew xix. 28, 29, the Lord lays down what may be called the Law of Recompense. To His immediate followers, the twelve Apostles, He promises that "in the Regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit in the throne of His glory, they also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" ; while He adds, as the law for all : "every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands for My name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life." It is possible and even likely that the Apostles might gather from these words that Jesus meant to establish in Palestine a new form of government, and that they should share in the revolutionary triumph, receiving from Him a tribe each to govern, as a general's most serviceable officers are appointed governors over conquered provinces. The "Regeneration" was a term applied to the Messianic era, in which the nation was to be started on new lines of prosperity, influence, progress, and hope.

But the hopes of the Apostles were in this respect

blighted. Did then Christ's promise fail? To answer this question we have only to ask whether the Apostles would have received a better thing than they have actually obtained, had they been raised to the thrones of Archelaus or Antipas? whether it is better to rule a province for a few years, with power to tax and legislate, or to influence countless generations permanently and beneficially in those concerns which interest men most profoundly? Actually, have any men received more honour than the Apostles?

But why did our Lord not explicitly declare that the influence and rank of the Apostles was to be spiritual? Why do we allure our children by a trumpery gift to the acceptance of a permanent benefit? "Dig deep over all my ground," said the dying man to his sons, "and you will find much gold." They found none of the expected pots of ready-minted gold, but their land, improved by the deep digging, enriched them abundantly. All through life men are led on by hopes that are seldom realized, but which yet leave them possessed of some better thing than they had hoped for. The student misses the prize he has wrought for day and night, but no competitor can deprive him of the gain of having mastered some branch of knowledge and of having schooled himself to toil. The lad enlists in the army, attracted by the glitter of military equipments, the colours, the music, the pomp of war; these all turn into rags, and hunger, and blood, in his first campaign; but does he think himself cheated, or does he not gladly accept the truer satisfaction of serving his country and being a shield to his fellowmen? So was it with the Apostles; attracted by the promise of thrones, they were satisfied with sharing in their Lord's spiritual government of men.

It is obvious, too, that the *general* law of recompense which our Lord here lays down, was not meant to be taken literally. A man does not and cannot expect to receive mothers, wives, children, in lieu of those he has abandoned

for Christ's sake. But he will have compensation. He will recognise that he was right in making the sacrifice. The Apostles had abandoned all that we mean when we speak of "home." All that was once fullest of life to them became as dead. From the family love that soothed, encouraged, inspired, they went out among men alone, misunderstood, abused, driven from place to place. And yet, as time went on, and they found themselves the spiritual fathers of multitudes, and recognised that they had been the means of communicating a new life to the world, they found their compensation. The letters of St. Paul are full of it. Even when with keenest grief they felt the reality of their sacrifice, when from uncongenial companies their memories carried them back irresistibly to the happy days of their youth, and saw in fancy yearning eyes, and heard voices of regret and reproach, their hearts were still kept steadfast by the joy of bringing eternal blessing to many and by the friendship of those who were their brothers in Christ.

The *form* of the promise then is only to be regarded as a strong way of saying that every follower of Christ will, in the following, find ample compensation for all loss incurred. It is merely a striking mode of saying, No one can ever be really poorer for becoming a Christian.

(4) To this large promise our Lord added a much-needed warning, which also reflects light on the subject of reward. At the root of Peter's question, "What shall we have therefore? we who, unlike this rich young man, have left all and followed Thee?" there lay a bargaining spirit. Peter wished some assurance that compensation would be made for losses sustained in following Christ. He was willing to serve Christ, but he wished to know what he would receive as remuneration. To rebuke this spirit our Lord addresses to the disciples the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard. This Parable opens and closes with the words,

"Many that are first shall be last, and the last first," and it is intended to illustrate the fact that reward depends not on the amount of work done, but on the spirit of the worker. Those that enter Christ's service in a bargaining spirit, and in order to make a good wage out of their life's work, will receive what they bargained for, but may find that others who entered Christ's service late and weary, and unable to do much, but in the trustful spirit of humble men, receive as much as they. Bargaining is incongruous with the spirit of Christian service. Trust in Christ should supersede all careful solicitude for our own advantage.

(5) It is also to be considered that although the disciples of Christ are spoken of as His servants, and must accordingly be considered as receiving wages or return for work done, yet this is not the relation which most nearly represents the reality. This is rather to be found in the words, "Henceforth I call you not servants, but I have called you friends; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth; but all things which I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you." The slave does his day's task, a small part of the whole work his master has in hand. He does it in ignorance of his master's plan, and probably with no sympathy, seeking only the poor reward of escaping the lash and of being fed and clothed. That, of course, cannot represent the eternal relation we are to occupy towards Christ and His work, however well it represents men who are under the law. There are many who do their work and spend their whole energy in a servile spirit, without any speculation as to the result of human life and the aim of God in imposing the law. Christ's people are awakened by His life to a sense of the dignity and utility of all human life; they recognise God's purpose in the world, and are stirred to true sympathy with that purpose. They are dealt with as friends who are able to enter into the Divine purposes and recognise the perfectness and Divinity of them.

They are expected to see the greatness of what God counts great, to feel the stimulus of what moves God to action, to recognise the worth and desirableness of the end for the attainment of which God has judged it worth while to work and to sacrifice. Plainly the reward here must be the attainment of the end. Attaining the end they labour for, nothing more needs to be added as a reward. When the aims set before us by God are adopted as our own aims in life, when we so enter into God's purposes as to desire nothing more earnestly than their fulfilment, then plainly the highest reward we can have is to fulfil these purposes. Thus only does human life become real, and thus only do we become truly one with God. We may be styled God's servants, because it is not by His own hand or lips He forwards His cause in the world, but by us; but when we apprehend His purpose, and are so attracted by it that it becomes ours, we are lifted above the spirit of the slave to that of the friend of God.

This too leads to the same conclusion regarding the nature of the reward. God's purpose is to make men holy; like Himself. But if God makes us like Himself, that is the utmost He can do. There is nothing beyond. God is blessed because He is what He is. We shall be blessed by being like Him. Perfectness, that is the true reward. The sick man does not ask to be rewarded for the attention he has paid to his physician's advice, by which he has become healthy. To be healthy is his reward. So with the spirit: the attainment of health is itself the reward.

MARCUS DODS.

THE GALATIA OF THE ACTS :

A CRITICISM OF PROFESSOR RAMSAY'S REPLY.

I HAVE to thank Professor Ramsay for the attention which he has given to my criticism of his theory as to the Galatia of the Acts. It is due to the Editor and to the readers of THE EXPOSITOR that I should try to be brief in my reply to his three articles; nor does my case need lengthy advocacy.

I attacked the "South-Galatian theory" on three sides.¹ I venture to think that this threefold attack has not been repelled. This assertion I shall endeavour to make good.

(1) I must again call attention to the two crucial phrases in the Acts, of the first of which I fear that the readers of THE EXPOSITOR must by this time be somewhat weary, viz., διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (xvi. 6), διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν (xviii. 23). It will be remembered that Prof. Ramsay maintains that these two expressions are synonymous and that both alike denote a single district, "the Phrygo-Galatic territory"; that I contend that in both passages St. Luke is referring to two separate districts, which St. Paul successively traversed, viz., Phrygia and Galatia in one case, and Galatia and Phrygia in the other.²

¹ Prof. Ramsay, quite unintentionally, I am sure, has so written throughout his Reply, as to give the impression that I am the assailant, he the defender, of Bishop Lightfoot. The fact is that the Bishop argued at length for "the North-Galatian theory" in his earliest (*Gal.*, p. 18 f.) and in his latest (*Col.*, p. 24 n.) commentary on St. Paul. In one point, for reasons which I in part repeat in this article, I ventured to differ from him.

² It will be noticed that I argue the question of the construction in Acts xvi. 6 without reference to what I before termed, and what I still believe to be, "an exact and important parallel," viz. *Lc. iii. 1* (τετρααρχοῦντος τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχωνιτιδος χώρας). My reference to this passage has led to an interesting discussion between Prof. G. A. Smith and Prof. Ramsay. In a certain sense

My treatment of the matter in my former paper was conditioned by my view, for which I gave my reasons, that *Φρυγία* in both passages is a substantive. This being so, among the phrases which I quoted from the Acts to illustrate "the *vinculum* of the common article," I wrongly included the following—*τῶν Ἐπικουρίων καὶ Στωικῶν φιλοσόφων* (xvii. 18). I fully admit my error in so doing; but, for the sake of clearness, I would add that I believe this to be the only mistake of which Prof. Ramsay has convicted me.

I will state again, somewhat more explicitly than I did in my former article, what appear to me to be convincing reasons for thinking that St. Luke in Acts xvi. 6 uses *Φρυγία* as a substantive. (i.) In xviii. 23 St. Luke uses the phrase *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*. Must not *Φρυγίαν* here be a substantive? Is it not certain that, if St. Luke were employing the word as an adjective, he would have written *τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν χώραν*?¹ We must interpret xvi. 6 in the light of xviii. 23. (ii.) *Φρυγία* is beyond dispute a substantive in the one passage besides xvi. 6, xviii. 23, in which St. Luke mentions the

the matter has passed out of my hands. My remarks will be brief. (1) It is essential to Prof. Ramsay's case to show that Ituræa and Trachonitis are identical. I cannot think that this has been proved. I am glad to be able to sympathise with Prof. Ramsay in the eagerness with which he looks forward to the appearance of Dr. Smith's *Geography*. (2) Is ἡ *Ἰτρουπαία* used as the name of a country? All such names of places are properly adjectives. Thus, *e.g.*, we have of *Ἰουδαῖοι*; ἡ *Ἰουδαία γῆ* (Jn. iii. 22), ἡ *Ἰουδαία χώρα* (Mc. i. 5); ἡ *Ἰουδαία*. If then ἡ *Ἰτρουπαία χώρα* is admissible, it appears to me impossible to assert that the simple ἡ *Ἰτρουπαία* is inadmissible. (3) If the country is in literature commonly called ἡ *Ἰτρουπαίων*, this is surely because to the world at large the Ituræan soldiers (see Schürer, *The Jewish People*, div. i. vol. ii. pp. 326, 340, Eng. Trans.) were much better known than their land. (4) In Prof. Ramsay's argument as to the Syriac versions of Lc. iii. 1 (p. 149, n.) he has not, I think, noticed that the Curetonian "cūr" "the region (cūr) of Tracna," is simply a transliteration of *χώρα*.

¹ Though Bishop Lightfoot took *Φρυγίαν* as an adjective in xvi. 6, he is careful to translate it as a substantive in xviii. 23: "This brought him to 'the Galatian country and Phrygia'" (*Gal.*, p. 24; so *Col.*, p. 24). I cannot think that he was justified in separating the two passages.

country, viz. Acts ii. 10 (Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν). Prof. Ramsay is silent as to these two points.

But Prof. Ramsay urges a grammatical objection against taking Φρυγίαν as a substantive in Acts xvi. 6. "If," he writes (p. 142), "one of Mr. Chase's pupils at college had ever ventured to put before him a Greek prose exercise, in which the English phrase 'the father and the good boy' was rendered by τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἀγαθὸν παῖδα, or 'Scythia and the province of Thrace' was rendered τὴν Σκυθίαν καὶ Θρακικὴν ἐπαρχίαν, Mr. Chase would, I believe, have made short work with him, and ordered him to repeat the article in both cases." Prof. Ramsay therefore holds that if Φρυγίαν were a substantive in xvi. 6, the phrase must have run thus—τὴν Φρ. καὶ τὴν Γαλ. χώραν. I venture to think that the answer to this criticism is not far to seek. In the first of the two phrases coined by Prof. Ramsay, ἀγαθὸν is a mere epithet, which can be removed at pleasure. In the second phrase Θρακικὴν is not a mere epithet; without it ἐπαρχίαν is meaningless. In other words, the two words Θρακικὴ ἐπαρχία, and the two words Γαλατικὴ χώρα coalesce so as to express respectively a single idea. They are, in fact, compound nouns; and thus the construction τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν. is seen to be parallel to τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Σαμαρίᾳ (Acts i. 8), τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν (xix. 21; see also viii. 1, ix. 31, xv. 3, xxvii. 5).

For other points which fall under this head of the subject—the reversal of the order of the names in xviii. 23 as compared with xvi. 6, the use in St. Luke of διελθεῖν (reinforced in xviii. 23 by καθεξῆς) before two or more names of countries, not seldom under the *vinculum* of the common article"—I must refer to my former article (p. 407 f.). These arguments derived from St. Luke's usage Prof. Ramsay has not in any way noticed.

(2) I pass next to the connexion of clauses in xvi. 1-7.

I entirely adhere to what I wrote in regard to the corre-

spondence of *μὲν οὖν* in xvi. 5 and *δέ* in xvi. 6.¹ Prof. Ramsay indeed assails my position on the ground that I “forgot entirely the existence of the double particle *μὲν οὖν*, in which the *μὲν* has no relation whatever to a following *δέ*, but coheres and is merged in the unified compound *μὲν οὖν*” (p. 56). The case of *μὲν οὖν* is, I believe, this: the particle *οὖν* looks back; the particle *μὲν* looks forward to a correlative clause introduced by *δέ*. Frequently, however, a writer fails to adhere to the strict logical arrangement of his sentences, and the *μὲν* in *μὲν οὖν*, like the *μὲν* in *μὲν γάρ* or the simple particle *μὲν* itself, has no correlative *δέ*²; in such cases *μὲν οὖν* may be practically regarded, to use Prof. Ramsay’s phrase, as a “unified compound.” The fact, however, that sometimes the expected *δέ* does not present itself, is no reason why we should disregard it when it does. In Acts xvi. 5 *μὲν* and *δέ* quite naturally, as it appears to me, introduce two consecutive sentences, dealing respectively with the two sets of actors in the drama which St. Luke has described—the Churches (v. 5), the travellers (v. 6).

But Prof. Ramsay has another objection. “Mr. Chase,” he writes (p. 56), “has not made a very careful examination; otherwise he must have seen that the arrangement of words (*αἱ μὲν ἐκκλησίαι . . . διήλθον δὲ [οἱ περὶ Παῦλον]*) does not suggest a balance between the two sentences.” It is of course true that the correspondence between *αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι* and *διήλθον δέ* is not formally exact. Strictly, the latter clause should have commenced thus: *οἱ δὲ περὶ Παῦλον* (comp. xiii. 13) *διήλθον*. But I do not think that it is possible to turn over many pages of a Greek prose writer³ without lighting upon correlative clauses, intro-

¹ Among the parallels which I referred to, I gave the words of ix. 31, 32, not, as Prof. Ramsay thinks (p. 57), because I reckoned it a stronger instance than the others, but because the two verses resemble xvi. 5, 6 in substance.

² A striking instance of such a construction of clauses is found in 1 Cor. xi. 18, where even *πρῶτον μὲν* has nothing formally to answer to it.

³ I take two passages at random from two very different writers: (a) Thuc. i. 36, *Τοιαῦτα μὲν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι εἶπον οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι μετ’ αὐτοῖς τιθέμενοι*; (b) Socrates,

duced by μέν and δέ, which yet do not exhibit a precise and rigid correspondence. It must suffice to refer to instances of such clauses in the N.T. See *e.g.* Matthew xxvi. 24, John x. 41, Acts xii. 5, Romans ii. 25, 2 Corinthians viii. 17, Philippians ii. 23 f.

In the text of Drs. Westcott and Hort and in the R.V. a new paragraph begins with xvi. 6. Prof. Ramsay insists with great earnestness (pp. 55 f., 293) that the authority of the Cambridge editors and of the R.V. disposes of my view as to the μέν and δέ in vv. 5, 6. I made the remark, which Prof. Ramsay characterises as "naive" (p. 55), and "flippant" (p. 56), that "the connexion of vv. 5, 6 is unfortunately obscured by [this] division into paragraphs." The division into paragraphs is a convenient, in some form a necessary, arrangement. But it is an artificial arrangement, and as such often involves some sacrifice. In the particular case under consideration, the gain derived from the clear articulation of the different stages of St. Paul's journeys, is greater than the loss involved in the separation of the two clauses introduced respectively by μέν and δέ.¹ Thus, I do not, and did not, criticise, far less condemn, the paragraphing in Westcott and Hort and in the R.V. And, on the other hand, it does not follow that the scholars who adopted the paragraphing which in a particular case separated a μέν from a δέ, rejected the correlation of the two particles. For this last statement I have the authority of Bishop Westcott in his note on Hebrews ix. 1. "The particles μέν οὖν," he writes, "correspond with the δέ in v.

Hist. Eccles., i. 36, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ σύγγραμμα Εὐσέβιος . . . ἀνέτρεψε, ἐξελέγξας τὴν κακοδοξίαν αὐτοῦ. Μάρκελλος δὲ ὁσπερον κ.τ.λ.

The fact seems to be that the verb (διήλθον) is taken to include the subject. St. Luke uses the singular verb (Παῦλος δὲ ἐπικεῖ. Σίλαν ἐξήλθεν, xv. 40) till after Timothy has become St. Paul's companion. Then, without further definition, he uses the plural verb—διεπορεύοντο . . . παρεδίδοσαν . . . διήλθον.

¹ In just the same way, clauses undoubtedly introduced by μέν and δέ are placed in different chapters in (a) Thuc. i. 45, 46; 46, 47; (b) Socr., *H.E.*, i. 30, 31; 35, 36.

6. . . . The combination does not occur again in the Epistle; and it is found in St. Paul only in 1 Corinthians ix. 25, *ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν . . . ἡμεῖς δέ . . .*; Philippians ii. 23, *τοῦτον μὲν οὖν . . . πέποιθα δέ . . . ὅτι καὶ αὐτός . . .* It is frequent in the Acts (viii. 4, 25, etc.).” It will be noticed that Bishop Westcott is speaking not of *μὲν οὖν* alone, but of *μὲν οὖν . . . δέ*. When we turn to Acts viii. 25, in the text which Bishop Westcott edited with Dr. Hort, we find that the clause introduced by *μὲν οὖν* ends one paragraph, and that the clause introduced by *δέ* begins the next paragraph.

But in truth, the correspondence of *μὲν* and *δέ*, though these two particles materially contribute to the cohesion of the passage, is a subsidiary point. It is the *οὖν* of historical sequence (which, as I showed by many examples, is a favourite particle in the Acts), which is the narrow defile through which the “South Galatian theory” cannot, as I believe, force its way. The particle *οὖν* shows that St. Luke is passing on to another stage of the history. Prof. Ramsay, however, does not anywhere in his three articles refer to what I said as to the force of this particle.

Yet, after all, Greek particles are but finger-posts to keep readers to the high road of common-sense in the interpretation of Greek sentences. Let us disregard the sign-posts, and look at the surrounding country in itself. In vv. 1-4 St. Paul relates the Apostolic visit to Lycaonia and Pisidia. In v. 5 he tells of the result to the Churches of that visit. In v. 7 he speaks of St. Paul as having reached a point far north of Pisidia—“over against Mysia.” Can any reason be given why in St. Luke’s rapid summary of St. Paul’s movements, v. 6 should give a recapitulation of what has been already related in vv. 1-4, while nothing is said of the northward journey between Pisidia and the point “over against Mysia”? If anything were needed to increase the improbability of this interpretation of St. Luke’s language,

it is the perilous ambiguity of each part of the supposed compound name, *i.e.*, the fact that the first term (ἡ Φρυγία . . .) used in the supposed recapitulation, describes a district immediately north of Pisidia, and that the second term (ἡ . . . Γαλατικὴ χώρα) denotes a district immediately north-east of the region denoted by the first term.

At the risk of being wearisome, I will venture on an illustration. I will put the following sentences, which, *mutatis mutandis*, I believe exactly to correspond to St. Luke's sentences, as interpreted by Prof. Ramsay, into the mouth of some historian of Henry the Eighth's reign. "The Commissioners visited Bury St. Edmunds and Ely and delivered the Royal letters. So then the Monasteries were much perplexed. And the Commissioners passed through Cambridgeshire, and when they came over against Leeds they purposed to visit Hull." Reading this sentence should we not conjecture that Cambridgeshire was a *lapsus calami* for Lincolnshire?

It would be affectation on my part to pretend to doubt that the sequence of clauses, or (to use less technical language) the whole structure of the narrative, is fatal to the "South-Galatian" theory.

(3) The third and last point must now be considered, viz., the bearing on the "South-Galatian" theory of the aorist indicative and the aorist participle in xvi. 6 (διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ). My discussion of this question, in view of what Prof. Ramsay has said in his Reply, must be twofold.¹

(i.) In his second article (p. 139 n.) Prof. Ramsay wrote,

¹ Prof. Ramsay (p. 295) writes: "Mr. Chase says that my words, 'they passed through Mysia,' are wrong. . . . I maintain that my translation is correct grammatically, and necessary geographically." The Greek is *παρελθόντες δὲ τῆς Μυσίας* (xvi. 7). I am not myself aware of any passage which is evidence that *παρελθεῖν* does not differ in meaning from *διελθεῖν*. Any passages which Prof. Ramsay may adduce, will, I am sure, be carefully considered.

"I shall in due course proceed to show that the South Galatian theory is perfectly consistent with taking *καλυθέντες* in xvi. 6 as giving the reason for *διήλθον*." I cannot find that Professor Ramsay has redeemed this pledge. The only passage which deals with the matter in his remaining article (p. 293) is as follows: "Although the South-Galatian theory is quite reconcilable with the interpretation of *καλυθέντες* as giving a reason for *διήλθον*, my personal preference is for the view already followed in my book."

I do not know what view of St. Paul's journeys Prof. Ramsay had in his mind when he promised to show that "the South-Galatian theory is perfectly consistent with taking *καλυθέντες* as giving the reason for *διήλθον*." It appears to me, however, that (a) geographical and (b) historical considerations forbid the belief that the meaning of Acts xvi. 6 is that the missionaries passed through South Galatia *because* they had been forbidden to preach the word in Asia. I will take these two points separately.

(a) Leaving the Syrian Antioch, the missionaries, traversing Syria and Cilicia (xv. 41), approached South Galatia from the East. I am unable to understand how it could be said that St. Paul and his companions *passed through* South Galatia, *because* they were forbidden to preach in Asia, when the nearest route to Asia from the Cilician Gates lay through South Galatia and then along the road which led from the Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus. It will be remembered that on the subsequent journey it was, when St. Paul had passed through South Galatia, according to Prof. Ramsay, that he took the road to Ephesus (xviii. 23, xix. 1).

(b) From geography we turn to history. St. Luke in one and the same sentence tells us of the first suggestion of the journey which we are discussing and of its motive. It was proposed by St. Paul to Barnabas, during their sojourn at the Syrian Antioch, with a view to revisiting the

churches planted in their former journey. "And after some days Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us return now and visit the brethren in every city wherein we proclaimed the word of the Lord, and see how they fare" (xv. 36). Before the journey began, the estrangement between Paul and Barnabas arose, and they parted company. It would appear, however, from the subsequent history, that before they separated they agreed that the Churches which they had intended together to revisit should be divided between them. Barnabas with Mark went to Cyprus (xv. 39; comp. xiii. 4 ff.); St. Paul took the cities on the mainland, *i.e.* the cities in South Galatia, which he had before visited in company with Barnabas; and, as Barnabas had gone to Cyprus, he approached them by a different route from that which he followed in his former journey, *i.e.* by the route which lay through Syria and Cilicia. Thus we have an express notice in the Acts of the *motive* with which the journey through South Galatia was undertaken. St. Luke's narrative, so far as I can see, excludes the supposition that this journey was due to St. Paul having been forbidden by the Spirit to preach the word in Asia.

(ii.) Thus those who hold the "South-Galatian theory" have no course open to them but to take the view of the participial construction, *διήλθον* . . . *καλυθέντες*, which Prof. Ramsay took in his book, and which he tells us that he himself prefers, *viz.*, "He [St. Luke] varies the succession of verbs by making some of them participles. The sequence of the verbs is also the sequence of time: (1) They went through the Phrygo-Galatic land; (2) they were forbidden to speak in Asia," etc. (*The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 89). I criticised this position by pointing out that it is impossible to believe that "St. Luke, in a short and simple clause where there could be no anacoluthon, wrote *διήλθον* . . . *καλυθέντες*, when what he really meant would have been easily and naturally expressed by

the words *διελθόντες* . . . *ἐκωλύθησαν*." "As to the ridicule," writes Prof. Ramsay in his Reply (p. 58 f.), "that Mr. Chase casts on my statement that in Acts xvi. 6, 7, the succession of verbs is varied by making some of them participles, I repeat the statement. . . .¹ The action in *κωλυθέντες* is contemporary with one stage of that in *διήλθον*, but yet subsequent to it looked at in a broad view."

Of this theory of the Greek aorist participle Prof. Ramsay offers a three-fold defence:—

(i.) "To take," he says (p. 58), "a simple example in English: one may say, 'Cæsar attacked the Gauls and defeated them,' or one may 'vary the succession of verbs by making one a participle,' and say, 'Cæsar attacked the Gauls, defeating them in a great battle.'"

I submit that an idiomatic use of the *English present* participle is no guide as to the use of a *Greek aorist* participle.

(ii.) Feeling, perhaps, that this treatment of the matter was not wholly adequate, Prof. Ramsay, in his third article, appeals to an idiom of a classical language. "Even a past participle," he says (p. 294), "is used in that way in Latin. . . . Thus in Livy, xxvii. 5, 9, we find *in Siciliam tramisit* . . . *Lilybæum reiectus*, and in Acts xvi. 6 we find *διήλθον τὴν χώραν κωλυθέντες*."

Again, I submit that, while a *Latin* usage may be legitimately quoted to illustrate, it cannot be used to establish, a *Greek* usage.

(iii.) Lastly, Prof. Ramsay has some significant words to say about Greek (p. 293 f.). "The question as to the sequence of the verbs and of the thought in xvi. 6-8 opens up a wide investigation. I maintain (asking liberty to complete and to improve the statement) my former point of

¹ Prof. Ramsay adds in a footnote: "I am quite willing to grant to him that my expression of the fact might be improved."

view. . . . I venture to think that the construction is characteristic of the author, and characteristic of the period and of the development of style that marks it. I am ready to argue that both present and aorist participles are sometimes used by this and other authors along with a verb to indicate an action closely connected with that of the verb (often one that arises directly out of that of the verb), but subsequent to it logically and (in a general view) chronologically. . . . Were this question to be argued out, numerous examples which justify in the completest way my interpretation of Acts xvi. 6 might be quoted."

Professor Ramsay's procedure in this passage reminds me of Milton's description of Death :—

"Death his dart

Shook, but delayed to strike, though oft invoked."

If Prof. Ramsay has grounds for thinking "that the construction is characteristic of the author," he could give at least one single reference to show that it does occur in this author. He gives none.

But, indeed, Prof. Ramsay has pronounced the most decisive condemnation of his own position: "My interpretation of the verses," he writes (p. 59) "is that of the Authorized Version (a fact which I only recently noticed, as I used regularly the Revised Version). The Revised Version prefers to leave ambiguous a sentence which is in its grammatical form doubtful in the Greek."¹

The Greek text which Prof. Ramsay interpreted runs thus: διήλθον . . . κωλυθέντες . . . ἐλθόντες δὲ . . . ἐπείραζον. The Greek text which the A.V. translates, as Prof. Ramsay has since discovered (p. 138), is:

¹ Prof. Ramsay adds in a footnote: "A participle may stand in several relations with its verb: context and sense must decide between them." The R.V. has: "They went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost," etc. I do not myself see how English words could be less ambiguous.

διελθόντες . . . κωλυθέντες . . . ἐλθόντες . . .
ἐπείραζον. Prof. Ramsay's interpretation of the text which
lay before him cannot be right, when, as he himself points
out, it is identical with the translation of a text differing
from his just at the critical point.

It was in reference to the construction διήλθον . . .
κωλυθέντες that I said that in my belief "the South-Gala-
tian theory is shipwrecked on the rock of Greek grammar."
I venture to repeat this verdict.

F. H. CHASE.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

XVI.—THE LAW.

THE negative side of St. Paul's doctrine of justification was, we have seen, that a God-pleasing righteousness is not attainable through the keeping of the law. "Apart from law a righteousness of God has been manifested."¹ The negative thesis is not less startling than the positive one that righteousness comes through the imputation of faith. One who breaks so completely with tradition is in danger of going to extremes. A temper of indiscriminate depreciation is apt to be engendered under the influence of which the innovator, not content with setting existing institutions in their own proper place, is tempted to refuse them any legitimate place and function. On a superficial view it might appear that some traces of this temper are discernible in the Pauline Epistles, and especially in the earliest of them, the Epistle to the Galatians. The tone in which the law is spoken of in that Epistle is certainly depreciatory in comparison with that which pervades the Epistle to the Romans. The expression "weak and beggarly elements,"² whatever its precise reference, applies at least generally to the Jewish law, and conveys the opposite of an exalted con-

¹ Rom. iii. 21.

² Gal. iv. 9.

ception of its use and value. In the later Epistle, on the other hand, the law appears as embodying the moral ideal, as holy, just, good, spiritual, as only realised, not transcended, by the highest attainments of the Christian life. The difference is due in part to the fact that in the Epistle to the Romans the apostle writes in a non-controversial, ironical spirit, while in the Epistle to the Galatians his attitude and tone are vehemently polemical. But besides that, it has to be noted that in *Galatians* he has chiefly in view the ritual aspect of the law, while in *Romans* it is the ethical aspect as embodied in the Decalogue that is mainly before his mind. And, as showing that the contrast between the two Epistles in this connection is only on the surface, it must further be pointed out that when in the earlier Epistle the writer has occasion to refer to the ethical side of the law, his manner of expressing himself is not a whit less reverential than in the later. "The whole law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."¹

It was indeed not possible for a man of Paul's mental and moral calibre to become under any provocation a reckless critic of so venerable and valuable an institution as the Jewish law. A clever, but comparatively superficial, flippant man like Marcion might play that rôle, but hardly the great apostle of Gentile Christianity, with his religious earnestness, moral depth, and intellectual affinity for great, comprehensive views of history. However decisive the reaction brought about by the spiritual crisis he passed through when he became a Christian, he must continue to believe in the Divine Origin of the law of Moses, and therefore in its immense importance as a factor in the moral education of the world. That it had a real, vitally significant function remained for him a matter of course; the only question requiring reconsideration was, What is the true function of the law?

¹ *Gal.* v. 14.

We know what the converted Pharisee's answer to that question was. The law, said St. Paul, was given to bring the knowledge of sin, to provoke latent sin into manifestation, to breed despair of salvation through self-righteousness, and so to prepare the despairing for welcoming Christ as the Redeemer from the dominion of sin. It was a grave, serious answer to a weighty question. It cannot be said that in giving such an answer the apostle trifled with the subject, or assigned to the Jewish law a function unworthy of its alleged Divine origin. But three questions may legitimately be asked with reference to this part of the Pauline apologetic. (1) Is the Pauline view of the law in accordance with the function assigned to it in the Hebrew Scriptures? (2) Are the functions the apostle ascribes to the law real, and recognised in the Old Testament? (3) Is the account he gives of the law's functions in the four Epistles exhaustive, or does it need supplementing?

1. To the first of these three questions Dr. Baur's reply was a decided negative. His view of the matter is in substance as follows: In the great controversy between Judaists and himself the apostle was naturally led to make the antithesis between law and faith as broad and distinct as possible. Hence the "works of the law" in his anti-Judaistic dialectics mean works of a purely external character into which right motive and disposition do not enter, and the position of the Judaist is supposed to be that by such external works a man may make himself just before God. Faith, on the other hand, is emptied of all ethical contents in so far as it is viewed as the instrument of justification, a mere empty form, in itself nothing and receiving any contents it has from its object. But the legal works and the faith of the Pauline polemics are both alike mere abstractions, or controversial exaggerations to which there is nothing answering in the world of realities, or in Old Testament scriptures. Especially is this true of the works of the law, which as

they appear in the Hebrew scriptures are not purely external, but the fruit of pious, God-fearing dispositions, and as such acceptable to God. Moreover, as the works of Old Testament saints are not Pharisaical in character, neither are they Pharisaical in spirit. They are not wrought by men who imagine that they stand in no need of Divine forgiveness. The Old Testament saint knows full well that he comes short of perfection, that he needs Divine mercy; and he believes that there is forgiveness with God, and believing this he serves God hopefully and gratefully, striving to do God's will in all things with a pure heart, and trusting thereby to please God. And according to these Scriptures it is possible so to please God. A pious man can do substantially the things prescribed by the law, and he that doeth them is blessed in his deed, pleases God and wins His favour. And the law was given for that end, that it might be kept, and that so men might attain unto the blessedness of the righteous.

Dr. Baur further maintained that even Paul himself seemed to regard the antithesis between works of the law and faith, as a mere affair of controversial dialectics, and to be only half in earnest about it, the proof of this being that when not actually engaged in polemics, he forgets his hair-spun distinctions, and speaks of works as the ground of the Divine Judgement on men, just as any ordinary Jew might have done. The texts cited to substantiate this statement are *Rom.* ii. 6; *1 Cor.* iii. 13; *2 Cor.* v. 10; *Gal.* vi. 7.

The account given by Dr. Baur, of the Old Testament attitude toward the law and legal righteousness, is not entirely baseless. It is the fact that Old Testament saints confessed sin and trusted in God's mercy, and had no thought of being able to do without it. It is further true that they practised works of righteousness in accordance with the law, and hoped by these to please God, and are represented

as actually pleasing God thereby. It is furthermore true that these works, proceeding from the love of God and a genuine passion for righteousness, were not merely externally good works of the Pharisaic order, but works such as God who looketh on the heart could regard with complacency. All this is broadly true of the piety depicted in the Hebrew Sacred Books, even though a certain deduction may have to be made from the estimate on account of the influence of the incipient legalism, traceable in some of the later additions to the collection.¹ But all this the apostle knew as well as we, and his quarrel was not with Old Testament piety, or with the Old Testament itself. He was in accord with the *prophetic* spirit, out of accord only with the *Judaistic* spirit. He believed that the truly representative men of the Old Testament—Abraham, David, etc., were on his side. His very position is that his gospel of justification by faith is that which best interprets the Hebrew Scriptures, is true to their deepest spirit, and that the men who oppose him do not understand these sacred books, but read them with a veil upon their faces. He believes himself to be in close touch with the spirit of the ancient worthies, and doubts not that had they lived in his time they would have been in cordial sympathy with him. Was this assuming too much? Is it going too far, to say, that had all the Christians of the apostolic generation been like minded with the authors of the 51st, 103rd, 116th, 130th Psalms, the Judaistic controversy would never have arisen? In that case faith in Christ and reverence for the law in its essential elements might have co-existed peaceably in the consciousness of the Church as a whole, as of St. Paul himself in particular. But unhappily the righteousness of the time was not a righteousness like that of prophets and psalmists, but rather a righteousness like that of Scribes and Pharisees,

¹ Vide on this my *Apologetics*, pp. 321-336.

the sinister growth of the post-exilian time. The apostle knew it well, for he had been tainted with the disease himself. It was a leaven of that kind, combined with a nominal Christianity, that gave rise to the great controversy about the law. The manner in which the apostle speaks of his opponents proves this. They appear in the four epistles not as men whose general moral and religious character commands respect, but rather as men who have their own ends to serve, and make zeal for the law a cloak for self-seeking. Of course it is a plausible suggestion that this is their character not in truth, but only as seen through the distorting medium of polemical prejudice. But the fact probably is that there is little or no distortion, but merely genuine character, shown with the unreserve of a time of war, when the interests at stake demand the suspension of the conventional rules of courteous speech. Such men having found their way into the church, controversy of the most determined kind, was inevitable. The apostle will have to fight over again with them the battle he has already fought with himself, and to formulate for the guidance of the church the principles his own religious experience made clear to his mind many years previously. For it was there the dialectic began, and it is in that region it may best be understood. The individual man, Saul of Tarsus, was a mirror of his time, and the process of his religious consciousness was but the rehearsal on a small scale of the conflict through which the church attained to an understanding of its own faith. Thence we understand why the works of the law, spoken of in the Judaistic controversy, are not works like those of Old Testament saints, but either ritual performances, or works of any sort done from impure motives. The reason is that it was only with such works Saul the Pharisee had been occupied. By reflection on the same experience, we further understand whence came the doctrine that the law itself was not given for the attain-

ment of righteousness. When Saul the Pharisee began to see into the spiritual inwardness of the law, through the contact of his conscience with such a precept as, "Thou shalt not covet," he knew that there was no hope for him save in the mercy of God, and he drew the conclusion: by the law at its best, as a spiritual code of duty, comes not righteousness as I have hitherto been seeking it, *i.e.* as a righteousness with which I can go into the presence of a merely just God, and demand a verdict of approval. By the law comes rather the consciousness of sin, and through that a clear perception that the only attitude it becomes me to take up is that of one who prays, "God be merciful to me." The apostle's doctrine concerning the law must be read in the light of this experience. When he says, righteousness comes not by the law, he means, righteousness such as I sought when a Pharisee, the approval of God *as Pharisaically conceived*. This doctrine was an axiom to the man who wrote Psalm 130. But it was not an axiom to Saul of Tarsus, nor to the Judaistic opponents of Paul the Apostle. Therefore it needed to be affirmed with emphasis, as in the controversial epistles. It is not a new doctrine. It is a commonplace, proclaimed with vehemence by one who discovered its truth only after a momentous struggle to men who altogether or to a great extent ignored it. The doctrine rests on two propositions which the truly good have believed in all ages: that man is sinful and that God is gracious. No man, therefore, who has self-knowledge, and who cherishes a Christian idea of God, will have much quarrel with the doctrine, or fall into the mistake of imagining that Paulinism at this point is in conflict with the general spirit of the Old Testament.

As to the alleged inconsistency of the apostle's utterances concerning the law, two things must be borne in mind. First, his *whole* doctrine as to faith's function. Faith in the Pauline epistles is by no means the empty form it is some-

times represented to be. It is not only an attitude of receptivity to God's forgiving grace, but an energetic, ethical principle working towards personal holiness. Secondly, it has to be remembered that according to the apostle's doctrine, faith works by love. The good works of his justified man are done in a filial spirit, spring out of the consciousness of redemption, and as such are acceptable to God here and hereafter, as truly good in quality, though not necessarily free from all defect. Hence the apostle's conception of the final judgment is not the same with that of the Pharisee. The two conceptions agree, in so far as both make judgment proceed on the basis of works. They differ as to the character of the Judge, and of the works judged. The Judge of the Pharisaic creed is the God of mere justice, the Judge of St. Paul's creed is the God of grace; for the gracious character is indefeasible, and underlies the work of judgment. Then the works judged, as conceived by Pharisaism, are works done not in the consciousness of redemption and the spirit of sonship, but in the mercenary spirit of a hireling, or in the fear-stricken spirit of a slave. The apostle's conception of the judgment is in affinity with that of Christ. It is the judgment of the God of love making the great test of character the presence or absence of His own spirit of charity. This we may say in all fairness, while freely acknowledging that the Judgment Programme in Matt. xxv. 31-46 reaches a high-water mark of Christianised ethics, not touched by any utterance in the Pauline epistles. Here, as in many other respects, the disciple comes behind the Master. It is not easy altogether to escape from the system under which one has been reared. Some traces of Rabbinism may cling to one who has made the most radical revolt from Rabbinism.

2. Our second question is: Are the functions St. Paul ascribes to the law real, and are they recognised in the Old Testament? Now there can be no question that the

functions ascribed to the law in the Pauline letters, as enumerated on a previous page, were based on actual results of the law's action in the apostle's own case. And on careful consideration it appears that the same result followed from the discipline of law in the history of the Jewish people. By the law came to that people a deepened consciousness of sin, an intensified keen-visioned moral sense. There came, also, an enhanced sinfulness. The Jewish people not only knew themselves to be sinners better than other men, but they were greater sinners than other men. For the law, though it showed them their duty, did not incline them to do it, rather provoked reaction, and made their sin more criminal by putting them in the position of sinning against the light. Despair and longing for redemption were the natural results of those two effects on all the better minds in Israel, as is apparent from the utterances of the prophets, very specially from Jeremiah's oracle of the new Covenant. The only point, therefore, on which there is room for doubt is: Whether the results of the law's action, as unfolded in Israel's history, were those contemplated from the first as the design of the lawgiving, or whether they were not rather the proof that the law had failed of its end. Now here a distinction may be taken between the divine end of the law, and the end which was consciously present to the instruments of revelation, *e.g.*, Moses. From the view-point of theistic teleology, as conceived by the Hebrew mind, the apostle's doctrine of the law is unassailable. The ultimate result reveals the initial divine aim.¹ On this principle it is true, as St. Paul taught, that what God had in view from the first was the promise, and that the law entered to prepare for the recep-

¹ This principle must be applied with caution, else it will lead to some unwelcome conclusions, *e.g.*, that God created man that he might fall, and the lost that they might be condemned; and that Christ taught in parables expressly in order to make his insusceptible hearers spiritually blind.

tion of the promise, to be a pedagogue, a gaoler, a tutor to make Christ and the era of grace, liberty, and love welcome. In philosophical language, the law was a lower stage in the development of humanity preparing for a higher, in presence of which it lost its rights, though the good that was in it was taken up into the higher, and united to the initial stage of the promise to which it stood in opposition. As to the view taken of the end of the law by those who lived in the early time, without doubt it was very different from that of St. Paul. They looked with hope on an institution which was destined to end in failure. The commandment which the apostle found to be unto death, they regarded as ordained unto life. They did not see to the end of that which was to be abolished. There was a veil upon their faces in reference to the law. But as time went on the veil began to be taken away by sorrowful experience. Spirit-taught men began to see that the law was given, not so much for life and blessedness, as for the knowledge of sin and misery, and that if any good was to come to Israel it must be through the supersession of the Sinaitic covenant by a new covenant of grace. That by the law is the knowledge of sin he understood, who asked: "Who can understand his errors?" That the law was an irritant to transgression, Jeremiah understood when he said in God's name: "Which my covenant they brake, and I loathed them." And the very prophecy of a new covenant is a witness to the despair of any good coming out of the old one. It is an anticipation of the apostle's cry of anguish: "Wretched man! who shall deliver me?"

We can now answer the question, How far are the functions assigned to the law in the Pauline theology recognised in the Old Testament? There is not a little in the Hebrew Scriptures which might lead one to think that the law's functions, as conceived by men of the older time, were very different from those assigned to it in that theology in

the light of history. In the initial period, antecedent to experience, the tone was naturally hopeful. From the law they expected life and blessing, not death and cursing. But there were thoughts in God's heart which men at first did not understand, and that could be revealed only in the course of ages. At length these deeper thoughts did dawn upon devout minds and find utterance in prophetic oracles, though to men of another temper living in the "night of legalism" they remained hidden. The prophets were on Paul's side, if Moses and Ezra seemed to be on the side of his opponents. The dispute between him and them as to the purpose of the law is one which might be raised in reference to any epoch-making event or institution. What *e.g.* was the purpose of the American civil war? If the question be regarded as referring to the aims of men, the answer might be, It was a fight on one side for independence, on the other for unity. But if the question be taken as referring to the design of Providence, the answer might be, It was a struggle designed to issue in the emancipation of oppressed bondsmen. How many, as the struggle went on, were earnestly on the side of Providence, who had little sympathy either with north or with south! Even so in the case of the great debate regarding the Jewish law. Our sympathies go with Providence and with St. Paul, though we admit that the prosaic Judaistic constitutionalist might be right in his views as to the aims of Moses the legislator and of Ezra the scribe.

3. One question more remains to be considered. Is the account of the law's function given in the anti-Judaistic epistles exhaustive or does it admit of supplementing? Our reply must be that that account, while true and valuable so far as it goes, stands in need of supplement in order to a complete view of the subject. The remark of course applies to the ritual law. On the ethical side the apostle's doctrine leaves nothing to be desired. The law summed up

in love, and truly kept only when the outward commandment is transformed into an inward spirit of life—this is teaching thoroughly in sympathy with the mind of Christ, to which nothing needs to be added. It is otherwise with the representations of the law's functions and value in which the ritual aspect is mainly in view. Here the apostle's attitude is chiefly negative. Yet even for apologetic purposes in connection with the Judaistic controversy a positive conception of the law's function might usefully have been presented that, viz., according to which it was a sort of rudimentary gospel during the pre-Christian time setting forth spiritual truths in emblems, as pictures are employed in the training of children. This is the view actually set forth at length in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and epitomized in the motto: the law a shadow of good things to come.¹ On this view priests, sacrifices, festivals, the tabernacle, and its furniture were emblems of the spiritual verities which came with Christ and Christianity the final eternal religion. By the adequate exposition of this idea the author of that Epistle rendered an important apologetic aid to the Christian faith in a transition time. One naturally wonders why St. Paul did not employ it for the same purpose in his conflict with the legalist party, and that all the more that even in the letters provoked by that controversy there are not wanting indications that the point of view was not altogether foreign to his system of thought.² It has been suggested that he was prevented from doing so by the fact of the allegorical or symbolic method of interpreting the Levitical ritual having been previously employed in a conservative interest. But it is not easy to see why such a reason should have weighed with him any more than with the author of *Hebrews*. The true reason why St. Paul did not adopt the typical method of justifying the abrogation of the law, while assigning to it an important function in its own time and

¹ Heb. x. 1.² Vide note at the end.

place, doubtless is that he had not himself arrived at the revolutionary conclusion along that road. His manner of viewing the law was determined for him by the part it had played in his religious history. It may be assumed that a similar explanation is to be given of the point of view adopted in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that its author gained insight into the transient character of the Levitical religion, and the glory of the New Testament religion, not through a fruitless attempt at keeping the law with Pharisaic scrupulosity, but through a mental discipline which enabled him to distinguish between symbol and spiritual reality, shadow and substance. In other words, while St. Paul was a moralist he was a religious philosopher, while for St. Paul the organ of spiritual knowledge was the conscience, for him it was devout reason. With this difference between the two men was associated a corresponding difference in temper: the apostle, impetuous, passionate, vehement; the unknown author of *Hebrews* calm, contemplative, leisurely. The diversity of spirit is so markedly reflected in their respective styles as writers, that to accept *Hebrews* as a Pauline writing is out of the question.

Yet the apostle was not disqualified for writing that Epistle by any radical contrariety of view. As already hinted, there are indications of the idea that the law had a symbolical function in his anti-Judaistic writings, although he did not think fit to make much use of it for controversial purposes. Such an indication might be discovered even in the depreciatory phrase "weak and poor elements." It suggests an educational view of the law, and specially of the ritual portion of it, which is in advance of the merely negative view of its function. It likens the Levitical ritual to the alphabet arranged in rows (*στοιχεῖα*) which children were taught when they first went to school. The comparison implies that in the ancient ritual might be found all the elements of the Christian Religion, as in the alpha-

bet all the elements of speech. This educational view of the ritual law is applied to the whole Mosaic law, by the figure of the heir under tutors and governors. The work of a tutor is not merely negative; it is not merely to make the ward acquainted with his faults, or to dispose him to rebel against irksome restraints, or to discourage him by a discovery of his ignorance, and by all these effects to awaken in his breast a hearty desire to be rid of an unwelcome yoke. It is also to train him in moral habits, from which he will reap benefit all the days of his life. By implication it is taught that Israel derived a similar benefit from the discipline of law. In this great apologetic word concerning the heir it is recognised that the discipline of external law forms a necessary stage in the education of mankind, good while it lasts, and fitting for a higher stage, when the heir arrived at length at maturity, can be trusted to himself, because he has within him the eternal law of study, the reason firm, and temperate will, the self-regulating spirit of a manly life.¹

A. B. BRUCE.

REST IN THE WILDERNESS.

PALESTINE has two great natural boundaries—the sea, and the wilderness. It is not too much to say that the Jew disliked the one, and hated the other. Certainly there is no trace of any passion for the former in the national poetry. The Psalmists, so quick to mark the phenomena of Nature, and to refer them to the great First Cause, are silent as to

¹ A particular instance of the typical mode of viewing the Levitical ritual may be found in 1 Cor. v. 7, where Christ is called "our passover" (τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν). The idea in general form finds expression in one of the later christological epistles, that [to the Colossians (ii. 17), in the identical terms used in *Hebrews*: "a shadow of things to come."

the beauty of the sea. Those whose business lay upon its waters were indeed bound to see somewhat more of the works of Jehovah than landsmen, but their melting hearts only discerned in the sea's restless agony the image of their own distress. But the wilderness had not these redeeming features of force and awful majesty. Vaster in extent than the sea known to the Jews, its terrors were greater, more constant and persistent, quite as striking in contrast with the beauty, as the sea with the security of the land of milk and honey. Both the one and the other were dangerous to travellers; but while the sea might be calm, the "waste" was ever terrible, and in the final issue death by drowning is to be preferred to death from want of water. Nor did familiarity with the wilderness make any Jew despise it. Certainly its rocky barrenness, its pathless wastes, its miseries for those who must traverse it, were close to his own fair dwelling place.

There it lay to North, and South and East, not a welcome barrier against foreign foes like the great sea, but their shelter, and point of vantage. But there were other weightier reasons than these of contrast or of climate for the national hatred of the Desert.

It is of course quite impossible to get at the meaning of much of the teaching of Scripture without persistent recollection of the narrative of the Exodus. The experiences of that first and greatest crisis in the national history—so strangely and instructively repeated later in the Captivity and the Returns—find reflection, one might almost say, in every page of Holy Scripture. The figure of the "way" is one of the great trunk lines of metaphor which are seen to run right through the record of inspiration. Its memories were burnt into Jewish hearts. The hatred of the Desert became almost a patriotic sentiment, and so not merely according to later Rabbinical suggestions, but even within the sacred narratives, it is conceived as the fitting abode of spirits of

the baser sort, and of demons.¹ A characteristic imprecation upon a foe was that his country might become a waste; the characteristic consolation that a prophet offered to his countrymen in their hour of desolation was that their land should again become an Eden. The references run through and through the literature of the Old Testament, and are indeed too numerous for quotation. In a word, the Jews could never forget the "great and terrible wilderness," and the best spirits among the national teachers took care that they should not forget it.

Into such a sentiment we Christians of the West can hardly be expected to enter. Those who have never been in the Desert require the genius of a Kingsley to picture it adequately to the imagination. There are indeed modern travellers whose report of the Desert has no repellent features in it. They assure us only of the delight they have experienced from its calm and soothing solitudes. Be it so,—but one must read between the lines of such accounts that they have visited the Desert with every possible convenience and comfort which are provided, not without remuneration, for personally conducted tourists. If these had actually to cross the Desert under the primitive conditions, we should have a different story, and its attractive stillness would be a feature occupying but a small space in the picture. The Jew of the past or the present would at any rate know better. By actual experiences, by historical associations, he would be justified, he is still justified, in being possessed with a holy horror of the wilderness.

It is no irreverence to the Person of our Lord to conceive Him as penetrated with this as with every other profound sentiment of His countrymen. Thus when He, in a passage already cited, speaks of the wicked spirit passing out from its human habitation homeless, through dry wastes, He declares that it seeks rest and finds it not. The association of

¹ St. Matt. xii. 43; cp. Apoc. xviii. 2 and Bar. iv. 35.

the idea of rest¹ with waterless places is here seen to be an impossible one.

When, again, in words of yet deeper mystery, He makes His forecast of the crowning catastrophe awaiting the nation, He describes it as the fulfilment of Daniel's language—a cutting off by desolation, an awful abhorrent prospect,² a vision of the wilderness in imagination. Our Lord is understood in such passages not merely to enter into the popular feeling about the Desert, but to give it here, as elsewhere, its appropriate ethical turn. He makes the “wilderness sentiment” a basis for His moral teaching. He gives it a spiritual direction. Of this teaching we must be content with furnishing a single but a most striking illustration. Its place in the narrative of the Gospels is in the fourfold record of the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand; but while each evangelist makes contributory suggestions towards this particular teaching, it is to St. Mark's account³ we owe its vivid and explicit statement. He preserves for us the terms of the invitation addressed by our Lord to the apostolic company, after they had announced to Him the grand results of their missionary enterprises. The terms of this invitation must here be carefully noted, since upon them rests the doctrinal lesson which our Lord would enforce.

Δεῦτε ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ κατ' ἰδίαν εἰς ἔρημον τόπον καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε ὀλίγον. As a matter of course there was the physical contrast, strongly, immediately present to the Lord and His apostles. At this moment they were in one of the fairest spots of that land, over whose fields His blessed feet walked. He deliberately invites them to pass thence into a “desert spot.” If the expression is a looser one than the

¹ See St. Matt. xii. 43; St. Luke xi. 44. The characteristic *ἀνδραυσι* is employed in both, and the phraseology is identical in both passages.

² Cp. Daniel ix. 23–27; St. Matt. xxiv. 15; St. Luke xxi. 20; St. Mark xiii. 14.

³ St. Mark vi. 31.

"desert," simply, it probably only indicates that the withdrawal was to be made to the confines of the wilderness, and the capital idea remains the same. Well, the apostles would have undertaken more than that by this time at the Master's bidding, although the invitation was a serious demand to make upon hearts that were anxious as well as enthusiastic. But the form and language of the invitation, how strange, how striking in its contrast; "rest" in the "wilderness," what irreconcilable conceptions! The contrast becomes the greater if it is permitted to press the full significance of the Greek word so familiar to students of the LXX. For *ἀνάπαυσις* indicates more than rest. It marks refreshment and recreation. It suggests that welcome and delightful change which, while it comes as a release from toil, makes it possible to labour afresh, refreshed. It is not mere repose, although this enters into the essence of the word, but refection; rest, not sought in and for itself, as Aristotle¹ shows, but rest, so that one may work the better. This consideration of the term, while it heightens the paradox of the invitation, points immediately to its true, *i.e.* its spiritual interpretation. Conveyed as it was in these terms, the invitation must have been enigmatic; spiritually discerned, it becomes luminously suggestive, and not only the apostles for the moment, but the members of the Church universal down the ages, are bidden to find in the Desert their very strength, stay, and a rest for their souls.

Students of this passage will already have come to some such conclusions as these. They too will at least have found something startling in our Lord's bidding, and will have been bidden at the same moment to look for a deeper meaning within the paradox. But a further and less obvious consideration may well have escaped them, with which we must be content to close the present inquiry.

It has been seen that if a Jew used the word "wilderness"

¹ Arist., *Nic. Eth.*, x. vi. 7. Οὐ δὲ τῆλος ἡ ἀνάπαυσις.

he would think not merely of its awe-inspiring physical features, but, for certain also, of its painful historic associations. These would run together in his mind, as undoubtedly they ran at this time in the mind of Master and disciples. Now there is a term so closely allied to the "rest" of this passage in St. Mark, used elsewhere in the New Testament, but especially by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as to be distinguished only by the prefixed preposition. *Ἀνάπαυσις* and *κατάπαυσις* can scarcely be differentiated; they are in a sense identical.¹ Now *κατάπαυσις* is through the LXX. employed to describe the happy restful issue of the forty years' wandering in the desert. In effect therefore it is almost equivalent to the very land of promise. This, at any rate, is the application of this equivalent term in the Hebrews. If, then, these parallel terms are thus to be identified, the contrast of Christ's invitation is seen at its strongest, and the spiritual application is quite inevitable. The apostles were bidden to pass from a garden to a desert. That was the contrast to the eye and to experience. They were to follow a greater than Moses to the wilderness, and to find therein a land of spiritual promise. The wilderness was to be the Canaan of the apostles. One better than Joshua would there provide them with spiritual refection. There they should have a holy, happy pause, and so pass forth, like their Master from His temptation there, again to nobler ventures and ever higher enterprises.

If, however, the apostles could have misunderstood the supreme spiritual reference, the language of the Scriptures might already have suggested it. Achor and Baca stood as symbols of the trouble and misery of the wilderness, yet the genius of prophet² and poet³ perceived in the one an

¹ If *κατάπαυσις* has the more active sense by usage, *ἀνάπαυσις* possesses it by force of the preposition.

² Hosea ii. 15.

³ Psalm lxxiv. 6.

avenue of hope, and in the other springs of consolation. The best spirits among the national teachers had persistently enforced and prophesied the happiest results from the discipline of the Desert. Men who have had experience of life, know full well what its desert passages are. Men who know the life that is life "indeed" observe and profit by their discipline. The life even of the unhappiest among mortals is never quite one waste of misery, but appears as a chequered whole of which the sorrowful parts and scenes are made more strikingly sad by contrast with such joys as they have in it. To make these parts and scenes fair and fruitful is a high aim, to be pursued alone by the spiritually-minded. The multitude must, from the nature of the case, decline; they must first be "sent away." It is no good minimising to anyone the seriousness of the discipline, whether the desert experiences are realised through the disappointments or the losses, the sufferings or the deaths, or the bitterest senses of sin which parch and waste the freshness and the growth of human existence. These have to be faced by Christian hearts, and, saddest of all, they have to be faced alone. The solitude is of the wilderness, out of which not only the call to repentance, but the cry of penitence is heard. "I looked for some one, but there was no man; neither was there any to pity me." Happy, thrice happy they who have found in such arid wastes the true source of comfort, passing from strength to strength until they reach the Paradise of God. For, in addressing itself to such experiences, the Christian faith parts company with every other ethical system, declaring itself to be the one religion for humanity. For human sorrows one system has proclaimed the necessity of endurance, and another the penalty of violating the conditions of environment. These are inadequate remedies; in justice it must be added that they do not profess to be enough. It is only true of God manifest in the flesh that He knows these sorrows and

has come down to deliver us in them, and so makes them not only bearable, but fertile in eternal consequences. Christ led the way for His own to the rest of the wilderness. What wonder therefore if a heaven lies about us in our sadness and loneliness. Had the apostles not received the assurance of the guidance of their Lord, they could never have accepted His invitation. With Him the wilderness and the solitary place were 'glad; with Him the desert blossomed as a rose. So every conscious and deliberate retirement from the world, every welcomed discipline, every willingly endured trial shall want neither comfort nor strength, shall become a true Lent, a spring immortal for the human soul.

B. WHITEFOORD.

*PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES
RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND AU-
THORITY OF THE MOSAIC BOOKS.*

IV. ANTEDILUVIANS AND THE DELUGE.

IN the last paper attention was directed to the remarkably clear evidence afforded by the description of Eden as to the antiquity and authorship of the early part of Genesis. Did space permit, this might be confirmed and extended by many details of the succeeding antediluvian history, but we must at present only consider this cursorily, and proceed as rapidly as possible to the narrative of the Deluge, which has many physical relations of the highest importance, and has recently been subjected to much hostile criticism; but is now happily beginning to rid itself of its adversaries.

In the present state of our knowledge, the Palanthropic age of Geology, the earlier part of the Anthropic or so-called Quaternary Period, may be held to correspond with the

Antediluvian age of history, though there are naturally divergences arising from the different points of view and various kinds of material afforded by the record of the earth and that of human history. This earliest human age is separated from the ordinary historic period, according to Genesis, by the Deluge of Noah, and according to Geology by the great post-glacial submergence which marks the division between Palanthropic man with his contemporary animals and the men and animals of the Neanthropic age, and which has recently been so ably illustrated by Prestwich in his memoirs on the *Rubble Drift*, and allied deposits in Europe.¹ From this submergence the continents of the northern hemisphere have only partially arisen, so that they are now smaller in area than in the Palanthropic age, though some of their mountains may be more elevated. The two records agree in assuring us that this submergence was of short duration, and that it destroyed many of the wild animals and the greater part of the men of the period.² When I first wrote on this subject in my volume entitled *Archaia* (1860), it was impossible to affirm with certainty that there were any known remains of antediluvian man; — but now the exploration of caverns and other deposits has given us abundant relics of these men and their works, and we know that before the Deluge they had distributed themselves widely over the Eur-Asian continent at least. We cannot here enter into the details of these discoveries, but reference may be made to works cited in the notes. A very short survey of the Antediluvian Age as recorded in Genesis will enable us to show the principal points of contact.

Genesis gives us in the line of Seth only ten antediluvian

¹ *Transactions Royal Society of London*, 1893, p. 903. *Quarterly Journal Geological Society London*, vol. xlviii., p. 326. Also paper read to Victoria Institute, March, 1894.

² I pointed out the geological evidence of the Deluge in *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, Chapter IV., 1888, also in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, 1890.

generations, but these cover at least sixteen centuries and possibly twenty-two, a time amply sufficient for the events which it records, and to permit a very wide dispersion of men over the earth. The Cainite list is shorter, having only seven names. It has been supposed that this is a repetition of part of the other; but as Lenormant has well said, "the resemblance is an assonance not an identity." On our present hypothesis the Cainite list is probably defective, owing to severance of the Cainite stock from the other branch of the human family to which the genealogy probably belongs. Hommel¹ has shown a strong probability that the ten antediluvian kings of Berosus, the Babylonian historian, represent the ten patriarchs of Genesis, so that we have here concurrent Chaldean testimony, while the Horshesu or Children of Horus may be regarded as their representatives in Egypt. The length of the lives of these patriarchs, though far inferior to that assigned to the Chaldean kings, has been made an objection to our record. On the other hand, in the case of a new and vigorous species living in a natural manner, and free as yet from the attacks of epidemic disease, there is nothing impossible in this, and the statement made without comment argues a document of great antiquity. A curious incidental confirmation of it comes from a time much nearer to that of Moses, in the remark attributed to Jacob in his interview with Pharaoh, when he says, "few and evil have been the days of my sojourning," in comparison with that of my fathers, though Jacob's years had already reached 130; so that the editor of Genesis believes Jacob to have been acquainted with these long lives as recorded in the annals of his predecessors.

The key to the whole antediluvian history, after the fall, is the murder of Abel, a sad story of crime and family disruption, which, gilded by the fancy of poets of the later

¹ *Proc. Inst. Bib. Archaeology*, March, 1893.

ages and the inventions of priests, has spread itself over the world. There can now be no doubt that the goddess Ishtar of the Chaldeans is not a mere lunar or star myth, however she may have been emblematised by such things, but a veritable woman and the first mother of men. Probably the oldest literary record of Ishtar is that in the Akkadian legend of the Deluge, in which she is represented as mourning over the destruction of men, and calling them the children she had brought forth. This settles her true primitive character, and agrees with the old Babylonian doctrine stated by Sayce,¹ that Tammuz or Adonis was not her husband but her son, slain by his brother Adar, afterwards fitly the god of war. It is for him that in an old Chaldean hymn she descends to Hades in the vain hope of restoring him from the dead, and it was for him that the Phœnician women continued in later days to weep. Ishtar is Astarte, Artemis, Athor, and a host of later deifications of motherhood, culminating in our own time in that of the Virgin Mary. Her history must have been known to Moses and other well-read scribes of his day, and we may fairly attribute to this the prominence given to the story in its original guise of a family tragedy, deprived of its later surroundings of myth and idolatry. This is the manner of Moses in treating the myths of the heathen.

Cain becomes a fugitive and establishes a separate community, the Beni ha-Elohim of our last article, among whom, on the one hand, arts and inventions flourished, and on the other hand some tribes fell away into a rude and nomadic barbarism. The Sethites, the proper sons of Adam, probably remained in the original seats of man and pursued a quiet agricultural and pastoral life. But a time came when the warlike and lawless tribes of the Cainites invaded the Sethite territory and carried off the daughters of Seth as captives, and hence arose a mixed race from which

¹ *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887.

sprang bold adventurers and physically powerful men, who introduced everywhere a reign of violence and terror. There has been much superficial comment on the so-called "Song of Lamech," recorded in the genealogy of Cain.¹ It is probably connected with the period now referred to in the following manner:—Lamech had captured two Sethite wives, and in doing so resistance had been made, in which he had slain a young man who had previously wounded him. He dreads blood-revenge, and affirms that his crime differs from Cain's, in being of the nature of war rather than of murder, and therefore less criminal. He addresses his song to his wives, probably lest they should betray him to their hostile kinsmen. He has thus the somewhat equivocal credit, as I pointed out many years ago,² of being the first to draw a distinction between homicide in battle and mere murder.

Thus immediately before the flood there were three divisions of humanity, Sethites (Beni ha-Adam), Cainites (Beni ha-Elohim) and Nephilim or metis. It is interesting to note here that in the Post-Glacial or Palanthropic period also, we find in Europe three races,³ that of Truchere, of which only a single example is at present known, presenting a medium stature and mild features, and possibly representing the Sethites; that of Canstadt, coarse, robust, and brutal, and representing the lower type of the Cainites; and the gigantic Cro-Magnon race, attaining sometimes a stature of seven feet, with prodigious muscular power, large brains and coarse and massive features. In the Deluge history it is the Sethites that survive, the Cainites and half-breeds perish. So in the transition to the Neanthropic period, it is the Truchere race that survives and becomes the basis of the Iberian and other modern races, the Canstadt and Cro-Magnon types, as races, disappear. So far as our

¹ Genesis iv. 23.

² *Archæia*, 1860.

³ *Quatrefages*, "Hommes Sauvages," etc.

information now extends the parallel is very exact. Thus just as in the case of its geographical information as to Eden, our old document seems to be correct in its archæology, and asserts itself as a history dating from the earliest post-diluvian times.

Another curious note carries with it a similar conclusion. Before the final diluvial catastrophe, we know, on the evidence of geology, that the mild climate of the early human period which had replaced the rigours of the Glacial Age, was beginning to relapse into a colder condition, an effect possibly of partial subsidence of the land already beginning to divert ocean currents and to diminish the radiating surface. Hence the condition of men was becoming less comfortable, and population would become concentrated in the milder regions, while tribes starved out in the north would fight their way southward. This corresponds with that gradual "cursing of the ground," recognised in the saying attributed to the Sethite Lamech, the father of Noah,¹ who hoped that in the time of his son some amelioration would take place.

It thus appears that, as far as yet known to us from geological investigation, the details of the antediluvian world were present to the mind of the writers of Genesis, in a clear, definite and non-mythical manner, which speaks an early date and accurate sources of information. Further, they must have been collected and published by one who had exceptional means of access to the earliest records of the ancient Hebrews. All this points to Moses as the probable possessor of the records of Abraham, and the man on whom of all others it was most incumbent to publish these precious portions of ancient literature, in the then existing crisis of the history of his people. Could we enter on the religious aspect of these chronicles, all this

¹ "This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which Jehovah hath cursed" (Gen. v. 29).

would become more apparent, but here we have to do only with their physical and historical relations.

Regarding, as we are justified in doing, the Deluge as an established event in geological history, and as not a local but a very widely extended phenomenon, we may first ask under what aspect it would probably be presented to us in a Mosaic version of the ancient records of the catastrophe. It is evident that on our hypothesis as to the authorship of Genesis, the only human evidence available to the author must have been that of survivors; and they could testify merely to the facts observed in their own locality or such neighbouring regions as might be explored by them after the event. If, as some critics allege, the narrative in Genesis is made up from two sources, there must have been at least two lines of history or tradition transmitted to later times; but unfortunately the evidence of this duplex history is of a very shadowy and uncertain character. If Moses were the editor, he must have had access not only to the records he has handed down, but to the Chaldean accounts similar to those disinterred in our own time, and to the story of the destruction of the early Egyptians by the anger of Ra and that of the continent of Atlantis by submergence; but he no doubt preferred the traditions which came to him from Hebrew sources. In any case, like the Chaldean legend, which professes to have been orally delivered by Hasisadra, the Babylonian Noah, the story as presented in Genesis is given as that of an eye-witness or eye-witnesses.

This is proved by a great number of details of the voyage of the Ark, which could not have been otherwise obtained. I may mention one in particular—the statement that the waters prevailed to the depth of fifteen cubits over the hills. This is obviously the remark of some one who knew that the water-draft of the Ark was about this measure, and so could testify that in the course of the driftage it nowhere

met with a less depth of water. We can easily imagine the importance attached to this fact by men who felt themselves first moving on the waves and then drifted by a powerful current, and who must have dreaded that their unmanageable ship would ground somewhere and go to pieces. Other particulars of this kind are the note of the time when the Ark began to float and was observed to "go" upon the waters, the occurrence of a storm of wind, the ebbing and flowing of the retiring water, and the time intervening between the grounding of the Ark and the general drying up of the soil. This form of the record, while it insures a truthful narrative in so far as human testimony extends, cuts away all those objections which relate to the extent of the Deluge, since the narrator merely gives his personal experience and is not responsible either for causes or universality, except as within his own observation. As it stands, and viewed as individual testimony, the narrative is a marvel of clear observation and transparent truthfulness, and, without any pretensions to science, affords many data for a comprehension of the real nature and causes of the flood, as well as with reference to the date and origin of the history.

Perhaps the most important of these considerations are those relating to the agencies employed in producing the effects observed, more especially as these enable us at once to get rid of the entirely inadequate notion that the Deluge may have been a river inundation, and they also serve to give us some definite ideas of the physical conceptions of man in that remote period. We must however bear in mind that we have before us merely a record of phenomena, not an investigation into causes. The words in the Revised Version of the Bible are given thus:—

"On the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights."

It may be observed in passing that some critics separate this passage into two, referring the two earlier clauses to an Elohist and the last to a Jehovist source. There seems, however, no better warrant for this than the supposition that the third clause is a repetition of the two before it; but this we shall find is impossible. We may therefore take the whole as one continuous statement.

It is scarcely necessary to say that throughout the Old Testament the word deep (*tehom*) is used to denote the sea in its widest and most general sense. In the first chapter of Genesis it is a universal ocean before the origin of the continents. Afterwards it is still the ocean, but now restrained by God's "decree," shut up with "doors," or with "bars,"¹ or, as in Psalm civ :—

"Thou coveredst it (the land) with the deep as with a vesture,
The waters stood above the mountains.
At Thy rebuke they fled,
At the voice of Thy thunder they hasted away :
Ascended the mountains, descended the valleys
To the place which Thou hadst founded for them.
Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over,
That they return not again to cover the earth."

It may be remarked here that with all the Bible writers who refer to the subject, the support of the earth above the waters is a precarious thing, depending solely on the will of God and capable of being reversed. This is probably connected both with the creation record and with that of the Deluge.

As to the "fountains" of the great deep, the word used (*mayan*) is not that usually employed for a spring or fountain, but rather for a basin or reservoir. The reference is probably the same with that in Job xxxviii. 16, "Hast thou entered into the springs² of the sea, or hast thou walked

¹ Proverbs viii. 20; Job xxxviii. 8-10.

² *Nebek*, a word used only in this place and translated *pēgē* in the Septuagint.

in the abysses¹ of the deep?" The disruption or breaking up of these fountains or reservoirs can in this connection have no other reference than to the abrupt and violent suspension of that "decree" or the opening of those "bars" and "doors" by which the sea is restrained from asserting its old dominion over the land; and be it noted here that this is the first and leading cause of the Deluge as observed by our narrator, and it accords with the statement that the Ark drifted northward toward the mountains of Armenia, as would be the case if the waters of the Indian Ocean were poured into interior Asia. So much for the first and leading phenomenon of the Deluge.

The second is less easy of explanation. If heaven means the cloud-bearing atmosphere as defined in Genesis i.,² the opening of its hatches or chimneys, for the wind (*arobbah*) does not designate a window in the ordinary sense, but some kind of roof-opening, must refer to an atmospheric phenomenon. On the other hand, there is a passage in Isaiah³ where the word evidently refers to volcanic orifices: "For the windows (chimneys?) from on high are opened and the foundations of the earth do shake." That seismic and volcanic phenomena should accompany such a convulsion as the Deluge would be very natural, and as some of the volcanoes around Lake Van and Mount Ararat have been in eruption in modern times, and, according to Loftus, one of them still emits heated vapour from its crater,⁴ it is not impossible that our narrator may have witnessed such phenomena, adding terror to the desolation of the flood.⁵ There is, however, another phenomenon not

¹ Revised Version, "recesses."

² "And God called the firmament heaven."

³ Isa. xxiv. 18.

⁴ *Journal Geological Society*, vol. xi. p. 314.

⁵ I find a curious discussion of this and other subjects connected with the Deluge in a work by Macfadzean, on the *Parallel Roads of Glenroy*, Menzies, Edinburgh, 1882. Among other things the author suggests that the great beds of unstratified gravel flanking the hills east of the Euphrateo-tigris valley may

unlikely to have been present, which may have attracted his attention—that of the tornado or waterspout. Appearances of this kind seem to be implied in the Chaldean account, and the strong upward suction of waterspouts might well be represented as the opening of chimneys in the sky.

With regard to the third appearance, the rain of forty days, it is unnecessary to say anything, except that the word employed is that used for the continuous and heavy rain of the rainy season; and that though no doubt a striking and prominent appearance, it was rather an accompaniment of other disturbances than a leading efficient cause of the flood.

I have entered somewhat fully into this part of the discussion, because so much misconception seems to prevail among literary men on the subject, and because it would be impossible to assign either authorship or editorship to a man of the intellectual standing of Moses, were we to attribute to our document such crude and childish views as those connected with it by some of its modern commentators, more especially by those who would restrict it to a local river inundation, an occurrence which must have been too familiar both to the original narrator and to Moses to permit them to connect the annual inundation either of the Euphrates or the Nile with a world-wide catastrophe.

On the other hand, while it is impossible to confound the Deluge with a river inundation, it is quite unnecessary to ascribe to it universality in that absurd sense which would imply an enormous addition to the waters of the globe, sufficient to swamp all the dry land, nor even in that sense which would imply a universal subsidence of the continents or a wholesale elevation of the ocean bed. When the narrator uses such universal terms as "every living thing

be of diluvial origin, in which case they would be equivalents of the "Rubble-drift."

was destroyed which moved upon the ground," he means universality, first in the sense of what he could see, and secondly in that of the absolute destruction of all land-life within his ken. His personal knowledge, by the terms of the narrative, extended over a territory from the lower Euphrates to the highlands of Armenia. Beyond this, the editor gives us no other means of judging than that which we find in his account of the dispersion of post-diluvian men over Western Asia, Southern Europe and Northern Africa, and the inference that these regions were then destitute of human inhabitants; though later we hear of certain mountain tribes in Syria, the Rephaim and others, not actually traceable to any of these lines of migration, but who may have been stragglers in advance of the main colonies, and not recorded. We now know from the evidence of the later deposits of Europe and Asia that the geological submergence corresponding to that recorded in Genesis was much more extensive than the limits deducible from the calm, judicial narrative of the Egyptian savant and prophet.

We have also in the Deluge a typical example of the usual character of the miracles of the Mosaic books. It was an unusual phenomenon produced by natural and physical causes, but under circumstances which show that it occupies a place in the higher sphere of the Divine government of rational beings. The Deluge is the solution of the problem presented by a race of men too far gone in depravity to be reclaimed, and it is predicted to an inspired prophet. In these senses it is miraculous, but in its physical aspect it is a submergence of the land, resembling many that have occurred in earlier ages before man was upon the earth, and differing from them mainly in its comparative brevity. A great agnostic prophet of our time tells us that the sufferings of humanity are to be alleviated by "the resolute facing of the world as it is, when the garment

of make-believe by which pious hands have hidden its uglier features is stripped off." Moses, with a deeper penetration, knows that when men have lost all touch of higher and spiritual realities, and have devoted themselves entirely to the perishing physical "veracities" of the seen and temporal, a time may come when no hands either impious or pious can save them from that utter destruction to which even the unchanging laws of nature may be made helplessly to drive them. I have elsewhere¹ treated of the details of the Deluge, and the superficial character of the objections taken to it. One of these may deserve notice here, because it is connected with facts to which attention has only recently been directed.

The Ark of Noah has been a fertile source of scoffing, and certainly the construction of such a vessel, even though our narrator modestly calls it a box or chest and not a ship, in this differing from his Chaldean *confrères*, seems remarkable at so early a date, though in very ancient times the Akkadian *literati* did not so regard it. But we have just learned from the inscriptions of King Gudea at Tel-loh that almost immediately after the Deluge men were navigating the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and we have known for some time that the Phœnicians, one of the earliest branches of emigration from the Lower Euphrates, launched their barks at once on the Mediterranean. Whether, therefore, Noah was the first navigator or not, the art was not lost by his successors. Nor have we a right to say that the peculiar name of the Ark in the Hebrew record proceeds from ignorance of maritime affairs—a truly remarkable ignorance on the part of a people which had lived in Lower Egypt and on the Coast of the Red Sea, and afterwards was the nearest neighbour of the Phœnicians. The term really marks the primitive age of the document. It is deserving of notice in

¹ "Origin of the World," *Magazine of Christian Literature*, Oct., 1890; *Contemporary Review*, Dec., 1889.

this connection, that Jacob in his death-song speaks of ships in connection with the coast of Canaan (Gen. iv. 9), while in Exodus the mother of Moses calls her little basket of papyrus, in which her child was placed on the river an Ark. It was certainly not a ship or boat; but like Noah's Ark a box or basket coated with bitumen, and on a small scale intended for a similar purpose. I have in the publications already referred to shown that the Ark was a refuge only for selected kinds of animals, not for all the animals in the world; that is, if we take our idea of its inmates from Genesis rather than from a toy "Noah's Ark."

We may safely predict that the biblical history of the antediluvian time and of the Deluge will be more and more valued as knowledge advances, and that it will be more and more clearly seen that they could not have been written or compiled later than the Mosaic age. In the meantime one may be thankful for a record which places those primitive and otherwise prehistoric men, known to us outside of the Bible only by their bones and implements, in rational and spiritual contact with ourselves, and renders their history helpful to us and to our children in these "last days."

J. WM. DAWSON.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF VARIATION.¹

Any researches which have for their object the advancement of our knowledge concerning the origin of the living inhabitants of the world cannot fail to be of interest to the student of Biblical exegesis. As our theory of creation must, in some degree, affect our view of the relation of God to the universe, it is important to note that with the pro-

¹ *Materials for the Study of Variation, treated with especial regard to Discontinuity in the Origin of Species.* By William Bateson, M.A., Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. (London, Macmillan, 1894.)

gress of knowledge in natural science, there have taken place certain corresponding changes in the current beliefs of the Christian Church in reference to such matters as the nature and duration of the processes whereby the existing order of nature has come into being. The old faith in an instantaneous creation of things as they are has almost become extinct; and most of the leaders of Christian opinion have become so far leavened with the spirit of the age as to adopt some form or other of the evolution theory of the origin of the universe.

The fundamental physical condition that is always associated with life is *change*. Every organic tissue, while it has life, is undergoing a constant metamorphosis both in its material and in the way in which that material is built up. Still further, every organic being, taken as a whole, participates in this changefulness, so that while in a general way it resembles its parents, yet it possesses a distinctive individuality of its own. This, which is a matter of common observation, is expressed by the familiar formula that all organic beings have a tendency to vary.

While the animal and vegetable kingdoms as known to the naturalist thus consist of myriads of individuals, each with its personal characters, these individuals can be classified along definite lines. The individuals can be grouped into species, which are categories that can be marked off from each other by distinctions more or less pronounced. These categories do not make a continuous chain, insensibly shading into each other; but they appear as a discontinuous series of specific forms, each of which exists in the conditions the most advantageous for its welfare. Any adequate evolution theory must take account of these two phenomena, the discontinuity of existing species and the adaptation of each species to its surroundings.

The older hypothesis of Lamarck was an attempt to account for these phenomena on simple mechanical principles.

The individual organism was supposed to be plastic, and to respond to the influences of its environment, thereby acquiring new characters. These new characters were hereditarily transmitted, and thus the diversity of specific forms in the organic world was explained.

But the most careful observations made under the most diverse conditions have thrown so much doubt on the hereditary transmission of individually acquired characters, as to discredit this portion of the theory. Also the plasticity of the individual organism has been shown to be subject to so many limitations, that the sufficiency of this method of accounting for the variety of existing specific forms has been practically given up by all biologists.

Darwin's theory does not profess to account for the tendency of the individual to vary from being a perfect repetition of its parent. He accepts this tendency as a fundamental postulate, and argues that some of these spontaneously arising variations will be so correlated with the environment of the individual as to give it an advantage in the struggle for life over those individuals which do not present a like advantageous variation. The forms which are so favoured become strong, and are perpetuated, while the weaker are starved out. To this process the term natural selection is properly given; it does not profess to be a cause, and it leaves on one side the consideration of the fundamental question: Why and how do these advantageous variations occur? This is forgotten by many of those who speak or write loosely on the subject: and Mr. Bateson very truly says that "the crude belief that living beings are plastic conglomerates of miscellaneous attributes, and that order of form or symmetry have been impressed upon this medley by selection alone, and that by variation any of these attributes may be subtracted, or any other attribute added in indefinite proportion, is a fancy which the study of variation does not support."

Most of the exponents of Darwin's theory have assumed that the differences between species and species are compounded of the accumulated individual differences between parent and offspring that have arisen in the long sequence which makes up the genealogical tree of the group; in other words, that variation is continuous, and that the specific difference between two forms is the summation of a gradually increasing series of small divergent variations.

The only method whereby the accuracy of this assumption can be tested is by the systematic study of existing variations; but as we have seen that every individual shows some form of variation, the complete discussion of the subject becomes a task so gigantic as to be practically out of reach. However, Mr. Bateson has attempted in this work to give a first instalment of a systematic study of the phenomena of variation; and has set himself to determine in a few departments of organic nature whether such variation as we can observe taking place before our eyes is continuous or discontinuous (that is—*per saltum*).

This volume is the record of prodigious labour, both of actual observation and also of bibliographical research. It is so full of facts that it is not easy reading, but the arrangement is good, and the illustrations are excellent. Since the publication of the *Origin of Species*, there has scarcely appeared such another monument of individual labour.

As the result of the careful and patient digestion of the enormous mass of observations here collected, Mr. Bateson comes to the conclusion that varieties arise discontinuously, and as the diversities of the environment of the individuals shade into each other, the source of the discontinuity must reside somehow in the living thing itself.

This demonstration of discontinuity in variation bears directly upon some of our current biological conceptions. Few ideas have taken a more forcible hold on the public

mind than that of heredity, which is often spoken of as if it were an independent and dominating force. Mr. Bateson points out that the sense in which this word is most commonly used is a metaphor derived from the transmission of property from father to son, and that, in consequence, it is apt to convey a fundamentally erroneous idea of the nature of the developmental process, as it suggests that the body of the parent is in some sort remodelled into that of the offspring, and that hence a whole series of errors arise. In nature, the body of the individual has never been the body of its parent, and is not formed by a plastic operation from it; indeed, as Mr. Bateson remarks, on the current theory of Weismann, the parental relation is rather that of a trustee than that of a testator. Heredity is a convenient term to express the general resemblance of offspring to parents, and the occasional re-appearance of the individual peculiarities of parents in their offspring; but we are yet far from any satisfactory hypothesis whereby to account for these phenomena; and our terminology is likely to mislead if we personify heredity as though it were an independent force.

It has been supposed by some biologists that certain discontinuous variations are reversions to an ancestral condition, but the detailed study of the forms so varying shows that they vary often in directions so different that they are mutually exclusive. Indeed, it is only in a few cases that the invocation of a supposed suitable ancestral form to explain the occurrence of such a sport is warrantable. "We suppose that a certain stock gives off a number of individuals which vary about a normal; and that after having given them off, it begins to give off individuals varying about another normal. We want to say that among these it now and then gives off one which approaches the first normal, that shooting at the new mark it now and then hits the old one. But all that we know is, that now and

then it shoots wide and hits another mark, and we assume from this that it could not have hit it if it had not aimed at it in a bygone age. To apply this to any other matter would be absurd."

Mr. Bateson very wisely does not venture into speculations as to the causation of varieties. Our knowledge as yet does not warrant any such theorising. He has earned the gratitude of all biologists by his boldness in acting as pioneer in a most arduous task; and he deserves the thanks of all thoughtful men for the spirit in which he has carried out his researches. "In these days there are many who do not fear to speak of these things with certainty, with an ease and an assurance that in far simpler problems of chemistry and physics would not be endured. For men of this stamp to solve difficulties may be easy, but to feel difficulties is hard. Though the problem is all unsolved and the old questions stand unanswered, there are those who have taken on themselves the responsibility of giving to the ignorant as a gospel, in the name of science, the rough guesses of to-day, which to-morrow should forget."

"On the first page I have set in all reverence the most solemn enunciation of that problem which our language knows" (1 Cor. xv. 39). "The priest and the poet have tried to solve it each in his turn and have failed. If the naturalist is to succeed, he must go very slowly, making good each step. He must be content to work with the simplest cases, getting from them such truths as he can, learning to value partial truth, though he cheat no one into mistaking it for absolute or universal truth; remembering the greatness of his calling, and taking heed that after him will come Time, that 'author of authors,' whose inseparable property it is ever more and more to discover the truth, who will not be deprived of his due."

ALEX. MACALISTER.

FAITH THE SIXTH SENSE.

RELIGION is recognised not only as a universal factor in human history, but also as an essential element of human nature, so that if any person with a sense of responsibility proposes to remove the supernatural Religion of the past, he feels himself bound to replace it with a natural Religion for the future. It is one thing however to do homage to a ruler, it is another to identify his throne, and, apart from Jesus, it were hardly possible to determine the seat of Religion. Some have argued that Religion is the fulfilment of duty; this is to settle Religion in the conscience and to reduce it to morality. Some have insisted that Religion is the acceptance of revealed truth; this is to settle Religion in the reason, and to resolve Religion into knowledge. Some have pled that religion is a state of feeling; this is to settle Religion in the heart and to dissolve it into emotion. The philosopher, the theologian, the mystic can each make out a good case, for each has without doubt represented a side of Religion. None of the three can exclude the other two; all three cannot include religion. Piety, knowledge, emotion are only prolegomena to Religion—its favourite forms and customs. Localize religion in any of those spheres, and you have a provincial notion; what we want is an imperial idea of our greatest experience. As usual, we owe it to Jesus.

Jesus recognised the variety of the religious spirit and gave His direct sanction to its choice fruits. Religion is obedience to the highest law: "Ye are My friends if ye do whatsoever I command you" (St. John xv. 14). Religion is knowledge: "that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent" (St. John xvii. 3). Religion is a sublime emotion: "She hath washed My feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head" (St. Luke vii. 44). But religion with Jesus is not

merely an influence diffused through our spiritual nature like heat through iron ; it has a separate existence. Religion is not a nomad that has to receive hospitality in some foreign department of the soul ; it has its own home and habitation. It is a faculty of our constitution as much as Conscience or Reason, with its own sphere of operations and peculiar function. When some exuberant writer refers to Religion as a fungoid growth or a decaying superstition, one is amazed at the belated state of mind. Science discovers that Religion has shaped the past of the Race, and concludes that it will always be a factor in its evolution. Jesus did not create Religion, it is a human instinct. He defined it, and Jesus' synonym for the faculty of Religion is Faith.

Jesus as the Prophet of Religion was ready to submit every word of His teaching to Conscience and Reason. He never suggested that what would have been immoral in man might be moral in God. His argument was ever from a good in man to the best in God. Human fatherhood was a faint suggestion of Divine Fatherhood. "What man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? . . . If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?" (St. Matt. vii. 9, 11). He never insisted that what was absolutely incredible to man was therefore all the more likely to be true with God, but used the human as the shadow of the divine. Common sense in man was Grace in God. "What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost till he find it?" (St. Luke xv. 4). Jesus claimed no exemption for His doctrine from the Law of Righteousness or the Law of Fitness, but it was in another court He chose to state His case for decision.

When Jesus made His chief appeal to the individual He addressed Himself to Faith. He asked many things of men, but the first and last duty was to believe. Faith lay behind life; it formed character, it inspired discipline. "What shall we do," said captious Jews, "that we might work the works of God?" Jesus answered and said unto them, "This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent" (St. John vi. 28, 29). Before the soul came to perfection it would have to suffer, but it must begin by believing, else there could be no Religion. Jesus' mind was continually fixed on Faith; the word was ever on His lips. It was the recurring decimal of His thinking, the keynote of His preaching. His custom was to divide men into classes from the standpoint of Religion, not morals—those who believed, those who believed not (St. John iii. 18). He marvelled twice: once at men's unbelief (St. Mark vi. 6), once at a Roman centurion's faith (St. Matt. viii. 10). When any one sought His help He demanded faith (St. Matt. ix. 28). When He rebuked His disciples it was usually because they had little faith (St. Mark iv. 40). Understand what Jesus meant by Faith and you understand what Jesus meant by Religion.

Just as a ship is kept in the waterway by the buoys on either side, so does one arrive at Jesus' idea of Faith by grasping the startling fact that it was quite different from the idea of His own day. The contemporary believer of Jesus was a Pharisee, and his faith stood in the passionate acceptance of a national tradition. He believed that the Jewish nation was the exclusive people of God, and that Jerusalem would yet be the metropolis of the world, with a thousand inferences and regulations that had grown like fungi on the trunk of this stately hope. It was contrary to fact to say a Pharisee believed in God: it came out that he did not know God when he saw Him. It is correct to say that he believed in a dogma which, in another age,

might have been the Holy Trinity, but in his age happened to be the national destiny. The dogma of the monopoly of God was difficult to hold, being vulnerable both from the side of God and man. Jesus Himself showed that it did not correspond with the nature of God, whose mercy was not a matter of ethnology. "I tell you of a truth . . . many lepers were in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet, and none of them was cleansed, saving Naaman the Syrian" (St. Luke iv. 25-27). He pointed out that it was contradicted by the nature of man, whose piety was not a matter of geography. "I say unto you, That many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven" (St. Matt. viii. 11). While this dogma had the advantage of being patriotic, it had the misfortune of being incredible to any fair-minded and reasonable person. You could only believe it by shutting your eyes to facts, and making the most intolerable assumptions. Faith with a Pharisee was the opposite of Reason.

Jesus also had a contrast in the background of His mind, and it throws His idea of Faith into bold relief. "Master," said certain of the Scribes and Pharisees to Jesus, "we would see a sign from Thee." It was dangerous, they considered, to let truth stand on her merits: for a prophet to rest his claim on his character. It was safer to shift from truth to miracles and to depend on the intervention of the supernatural. Jesus was angry because this wanton demand for a sign was the tacit denial of Faith, and the open confession of an irreligious heart. "An evil and adulterous generation," He said, "seeketh after a sign" (St. Matt. xii. 39). A nobleman was impressed by the spiritual power of Jesus, and besought Him to heal his sick son. His faith was strong enough to believe that Jesus could do this good work: it was too weak to believe that Jesus could work at a distance. Faith in this man's mind was fettered by con-

ditions of sight, and so was less than faith. "Except," said Jesus, "ye see signs and wonders ye will not believe" (St. John iv. 48). When Jesus rose from the dead He found that one of His apostles had not kept Easter Day, and would not accept His Resurrection unless Jesus afforded him physical proof of the most humble and elementary kind. Jesus conceded to Love what could not be given to Faith, and St. Thomas, who had lost faith in Jesus' humanity, rose to the faith of His divinity. But Jesus reproached him, and rated his faith at a low value. It was only a bastard faith that had not freed itself of sight. "Because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed : blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed" (St. John xx. 29). "What," said St. Augustine, "is Faith, but to believe what you do not see?" It was a happy epitome of Jesus. With Jesus Faith is the opposite of sight.

Jesus crystallized the idea of Faith which is held in solution throughout the Bible, and rests on the assumption of two worlds. There is the physical world which lies round us on every side, and of which our bodies are a part. This is one environment, and the instrument of knowledge here is sight. There is the spiritual world which is hidden by the veil of the physical, and of which our souls are a part. This is another environment, and the instrument of knowledge here is faith. There is an order in the education of Humanity, and the first lesson is not faith but sight. The race, and each individual in his turn, begins with the experience of the physical : seeing visible objects, handling material possessions, hearing audible voices, looking at flesh-and-blood people. It is a new and hard lesson to realize the spiritual : to enter into the immaterial, inaudible, invisible, intangible life of the soul ; to catch a voice that only calls within, to follow a mystical presence through a trackless wilderness, to wait for an inheritance that eye

hath not seen, to store our treasure on the other side of the grave. This is to leave our kindred and our father's house, and to go into a land which God will show us. It is to emerge from the physical, it is to enter into the spiritual sphere. It is an immense advance; it is a tremendous risk. Any one who shifts the centre of his life from the world which is seen to the world which is unseen deserves to be called a believer. Abraham was the first man in history who dared to make this venture and to cast himself on God. He discovered the new world of the soul, and is to this day the father of the faithful.

Jesus insisted on Faith for the same reason that a mathematician relies on the sense of numbers, or an artist on the sense of beauty: it was the one means of knowledge in His department. He was the Prophet of God and must address the God-faculty in man. Between Faith and God there was the same correspondence as between the eye and light. Faith proves God: God demands Faith. When any one ignored Faith and fell back on sight in the quest for God, Jesus was in despair. Before such wilful stupidity He was amazed and helpless. You want to see, was His constant complaint, when in the nature of things you must believe. There is one sphere where sight is the instrument of knowledge: use it there—it is not my sphere. There is another where faith is the instrument; use it there—that is my sphere. But do not interchange your instruments. You cannot see what is spiritual; you might as well expect to hear a picture. What you see you do not believe; it is a misnomer; you see it. What you believe you cannot see; it would be an absurdity; you believe it. Faith is the instinct of the spiritual world: it is the sixth sense—the sense of the unseen. Its perfection may be the next step in the evolution of the Race.

Jesus continually offered Himself as the object of Faith because He was the Revelation of the unseen world.

Believe on Me, He said with authority, not on the ground that He was God, whom no man could see, but because He was sent by God whom He declared. "Shew us the Father and it sufficeth us" (St. John xiv. 8), was the confused cry of Faith. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father" (xiv. 9), was Jesus' answer. To see Jesus was not sight: it was Faith. Sight only showed a Jewish peasant, and therefore Jesus said once to the Jews, "Ye also have seen Me and believe not" (St. John vi. 36). Faith detected His veiled glory; therefore Jesus said to St. Peter on his great confession, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven" (St. Matt. xvi. 17). Jesus did not depend on His metaphysical equality with the Father, but on His moral likeness to the Father — not His eternal generation, but His spiritual character. Reason must decide whether Jesus be God and Man in two distinct natures and one person: it is the function of faith to respond to His Divine excellence, who was

"Fulfilled with God-head as a cup
Filled with a precious essence."

God was made visible and beautiful to Faith as Jesus spoke and worked, and the denial of Jesus was the denial of God. "The Father Himself, which hath sent Me, hath borne witness of Me. Ye have neither heard His voice at any time nor seen His shape; and ye have not His word abiding in you, for Whom He hath sent ye believe not" (St. John v. 37, 38). Faith fulfils itself in the discovery and acceptance of Jesus; beyond Him nothing is to be desired, no one to be imagined. As Mr. T. H. Green says, "Faith is the communication of the Divine Spirit by which Christ as the revealed God dwells in our heart. It is the awakening of the Spirit of Adoption whereby we cry Abba Father."

Two questions which harass the religious mind in our

day were never anticipated by Jesus' hearers: they were impossible under His idea of Faith. When Faith is an isolated and subtle act of the soul, some will always ask, What is Faith? and some will always reply, There are seven kinds, more or less, and the end will be hopeless confusion. If Faith be defined as the sense of the unseen which detects, recognises, loves, and trusts the goodness existing in innumerable forms and persons in the world, and rises to its height in trusting Him who is its source and sum, then it is needless to inquire, "What is Faith?" We are walking by Faith in one world every day with our souls, as we are walking by sight in another world with our bodies. No one asked Jesus, "How can Faith be obtained?" because Jesus did not regard Faith as an arbitrary gift of the Almighty, or an occasional visitant to favoured persons, but as one of the senses of the soul. Jesus did not divide men into those who had Faith and those who had not, but into those who used the faculty, and those who refused to use it. He expected people to believe when He presented evidence, as you expect one to look if you show him a picture. One might have weak faith as one might have short sight: one might be faithless as one might be blind. That is beside the question. The Race has sight, although a few may be blind, and the Race has Faith, although a few may not believe.

Jesus regarded the feeblest effort of this faculty with hope because it lifted the soul above the limitations of this life and allied it to the Eternal. "With God all things are possible" (St. Matt. xix. 26), and therefore "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to Him that believeth" (St. Mark ix. 23). When His disciples caught a glimpse of the higher life and prayed "Increase our Faith," Jesus encouraged them. "If ye had Faith as a grain of mustard seed (synonym for smallness), ye might say unto this sycamine (synonym for greatness) tree, Be thou plucked up

by the root, and be thou planted in the sea ; and it should obey you (St. Luke xvii. 6). It was not easy to believe strongly any more than to see far, and Faith, like any other faculty, must be trained by discipline. Jesus was evidently satisfied with the father who said with tears, " Lord, I believe ; help Thou mine unbelief " (St. Mark ix. 24), and ever cast His protection over struggling Faith. Positive unbelief or absolute incapacity of Faith, Jesus refused to pity or condone. It was not a misfortune : it was a wilful act. It was atrophy through misuse or neglect, and was, to His mind, sin.

This judgment would be a gross injustice if Faith were an accomplishment of saints ; it is an inevitable conclusion if Faith be an inherent faculty. No one could be reduced to this helpless state unless he had habitually shut his soul against the unseen as it lapped him round and had fastened his whole interest on this world. It was one of the paradoxes of Jesus' day, that the same people were the conventional believers and the typical unbelievers. The Pharisees believed in their creed with pathetic tenacity and disbelieved in Jesus with hopeless obstinacy, and the reason of their Faith and their unbelief was the same. It was their utter and unqualified worldliness. They believed in a kingdom where its citizens strove for the chief seats of the synagogues and the highest rooms at feasts ; they were offended with a kingdom whose type was a little child and whose Messiah came to serve. They had lived so long in the dark of vain ambition and material aims, that their eye-balls had withered, and when they came into the open they could not see. " How can ye believe," said Jesus to the Jews, illuminating at one stroke His idea of Faith and the reason of their unbelief, " which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only ? " (St. John v. 44).

Jesus' attitude to miracles hangs on His idea of Faith,

Define Faith as the antagonist of reason, and miracles are then a necessity. They are the twelve legions of angels which intervene on the side of Truth. Define Faith as the supplement to reason in the sphere of the unseen, and miracles are at best a provisional assistance. If Faith had been alert and strong, then miracles had been an incumbrance. Since Faith was weak and inert, miracles served a purpose. For a moment the spiritual order projected itself into the natural and arrested attention. No one could deny another state, and he might be roused to possess it. A miracle was a sign, a lightning flash that proves the electricity in the air; otherwise a useless and alarming phenomenon to men. Jesus did not think highly of physical miracles; He was annoyed when they were asked; He wrought them with great reserve; He depreciated their spiritual value on all occasions. If blind men could not see the light, let them have the lightning, but it was a poor makeshift. "If I do not the works of My Father, believe Me not. But if I do, though ye believe not Me (recognise Me), believe the works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in Me and I in Him" (St. John x. 37, 38). So He put it to the Jews, and His heart sometimes failed Him about His own disciples. "Believe Me that I am in the Father, and the Father in Me: or else believe Me for the very works' sake" (St. John xiv. 11).

"You stick a garden-plot with ordered twigs,
To show inside lie germs of herbs unborn,
And check the careless step would spoil their birth;
But when herbs wave, the guardian twigs may go.
. . . This book's fruit is plain,
Nor miracles need prove it any more."

Jesus was Himself the one convincing and permanent miracle, the "avenue into the unseen." When any one believes in Jesus he has the key of revelation and the vision of Heaven. "Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under

the fig tree, believest thou? thou shalt see greater things than these. And He saith unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto you, hereafter ye shall see Heaven open, and the angels of God ascending and descending upon the Son of man" (St. John i. 50, 51).

With Jesus' idea of Faith religion is independent of external evidence, and carries a warrant in her own bosom. The foundation of Faith is a grave problem, and its difficulty is admirably raised in an Eastern legend. The world rests on an elephant. Very good: and the elephant itself on a tortoise: and the tortoise? on air—sooner or later you come to air—no foundation. There are two conceivable grounds on which Faith can stablish herself, and each is a priceless assistance. One is the testimony of faithful people in all the ages; this is an infallible Church. The other is that "volume which is a Divine supplement to the laws of nature and of conscience": this is an infallible Book. But what is to certify the Church or the Book? Their character alone can be their certificate, and how am I to identify this character save by my Faith? We end where we began—with Faith, which must be self-verifying and self-sustaining. We believe in Jesus, not because the prophets anticipated Him or disciples have magnified Him, but, in the last issue, because He is such an one as we must believe. Jesus is the justification because He is the satisfaction of Faith. Faith is thankful for every aid, and strengthens herself on the Bible, but Faith is self-sufficient. "In its true nature," to quote Mr. Green again, "Faith can be justified by nothing but itself," or, as John Baptist has it, "What He hath seen and heard, that He testifieth . . . he that hath received His testimony hath set to his seal that God is true" (St. John iii. 32, 33).

Jesus' idea of Faith explained His contradictory attitude to this visible world, which was sometimes one of friendliness, sometimes one of watchfulness. When He saw the world

as the shadow of the real, He loved it and wove it into an endless parable. Its fertility, tenderness, richness, brilliancy were all signs of the Kingdom of Heaven fulfilled in Himself. "I am the true vine" (St. John xv. 1); "I am the good Shepherd" (St. John x. 11); "I am the Light of the world" (St. John viii. 12); He was the "living water" (St. John iv. 10). He was the substance of every appearance: the truth under every form. The spiritual was embodied in this world, as Jesus was God in human flesh, and he that believed, like St. John, could see. This was the appreciation of the world. When Jesus thought of the world as the veil of the spiritual, He was concerned, and warned His disciples lest they should be caught by the glitter of the visible, lest they should be held in the prison of the material. They must have a sense of proportion, seeking first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness: they must not fret about this world, knowing it to be an appendage of the Kingdom. They ought not to lay up for themselves treasures on earth, because they would be lost; they must store their treasures in heaven, because they would last (St. Matt. vi. 19, 20). They ought not to fear the trials of this life, because persecution cannot injure the soul; they ought to fear spiritual disaster only, because it is destruction to be cast into hell fire (St. Matt. x. 28). He that seeks to house his soul in barns is a fool (St. Luke xii. 20): he that prepares an everlasting dwelling place is wise (St. Luke xvi. 9). The world as a parable is perfect; as a possession it is worthless. It is never to be compared with the soul, or the kingdom of God. Jesus did not denounce the world as wicked, He disparaged it as unreal. This is the depreciation of the world.

When Jesus' idea of Faith is accepted, then its province in human life will be finally delimited, and various frontier wars brought to an end. Painters will still give us charming pictures of Faith and Reason, but they will

no longer represent Reason as a mailed knight picking his way from stone to stone, while Faith as a winged angel floats by his side. Faith and Reason will be neighbouring powers, each absolute in its own region. It is the part of Reason to verify intellectual conceptions and apply intellectual principles, and Faith must not disturb this work. It is the part of Faith to gather those hopes and feelings which lie outside the intellect, and Faith must not be hampered by Reason. When the knight comes to the edge of the cliff, he can go no farther; then Faith, like Angelico's San Michele, opens his strong wings and passes out in the lonely quest for God. An Eastern has understood Jesus perfectly. "What Reason is to things demonstrable," he says, "is Faith to the invisible realities of the spirit world."

One may also hope that with Christian views of Faith we shall not hear any more of a reconciliation between Science and Religion, which is as if you proposed to reconcile Geology and Astronomy. Science has, for its field, everything material; religion, everything spiritual. When the scientist comes, as he constantly does, on something beyond his tests, as, for instance, life, he ought to leave it to Religion. When the saint comes on something material, as, for instance, creation, he ought to leave it to Science. Faith has no apparatus for science; science has no method of discovering God. For the phenomena of the universe we look to Science; for the facts of the soul to Faith. "A division as old as Aristotle," say the authors of the *Unseen Universe*, "separates speculators into two great classes: those who study the How of the universe, and those who study the Why. All men of Science are embraced in the former of these; all men of Religion in the latter."

Define Faith as the Religious faculty, and you at once lift from its shoulders the burden of Theology. In the minds of many, Faith and Religion have been so con-

founded together as to be practically one, and Faith has been exercised on dogmas when it should have been resting in God. Theology is a Science; it is created by reason. Religion is an experience; it is guided by faith. The Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, for instance, is a very elaborate effort of reason, and is not, strictly speaking, within the scope of faith. When one says "I believe" in the Nicene Creed, one means I assent to the Theological statement. When one says "Lord, I believe" in Jesus' sense, one means I trust—a very different thing. Jesus' physical Resurrection, in the same way, is a question that can only be decided by evidence, and is within the province of reason. His spiritual Resurrection is a drama of the soul, and a matter of faith. When I declare my belief that on the third day Jesus rose, I am really yielding to evidence. When I am crucified with Christ, buried with Christ, and rise to newness of life in Christ, I am believing after the very sense of Jesus.

Our wisdom in this day of confusion is to extricate Faith from all entanglements, and exercise the noblest, surest, strongest faculty of our nature on Jesus Christ, whose Person constitutes the evidence of the unseen, whose one demand on all men is Trust, whose promise, fulfilled to an innumerable multitude, is Rest.

"Remember what a martyr said
On the rude tablet overhead:
I was born sickly, poor and mean,
A slave; no misery could screen
The holders of the pearl of price
From Cæsar's envy; therefore twice
I fought with beasts, and three times saw
My children suffer by his law.
At last, my own release was earned,
I was some time in being burned;
But at the close a hand came through
The fire above my head, and drew
My soul to Christ, whom *now I see*."

JOHN WATSON.

SURVEY OF RECENT BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

THE *Sermon Bible*, issued by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, has reached its twelfth and concluding volume. The concluding portion of the New Testament, from 1. Peter to Revelation, is here treated. The anonymous compiler deserves the greatest credit for the manner in which he has discharged his laborious task. The writers from whom he draws his material are well selected, and the abstracts of sermons which he has drawn up retain more of the vital juices of his originals than such digests are wont to preserve. The *Sermon Bible* is easily first of its class.—*In the Days of Youth*, is a volume of sermons to boys and girls, by J. M. Gibbon (Elliot Stock), and can be cordially recommended to ministers who are in search of material for similar addresses. Mr. Gibbon is no prentice hand. He has the gift. He can make serious subjects interesting without having recourse to anecdotes or extravagance or sensationalism of any kind.

In *The Christian Certainties* (Isbister & Co.), Dr. John Clifford has given to the public a short series of "addresses in exposition and defence of the Christian Faith." The volume deserves a hearty welcome. There was room for it. The very excellence of some previous "apologies" has prevented them from becoming popular. They are too special, or too scholastic, or too philosophical. Dr. Clifford's is the preacher's apology. He recognises the craving for certainty which characterizes our time. "We want to be as sure of God in conduct and thought, in deed and idea, as we are of gases and minerals, of chemical tests and reagents, of the laws of motion amongst the stars, and the principle of gravitation on the earth: we seek the certitude of science on matters of religion and life." Dr. Clifford believes we can have it, and these addresses are an attempt to exhibit the grounds of this certainty. These grounds are the familiar ones: the Person of Christ, His appeal to human needs and instincts, and especially what Dr. Clifford calls "the fifth gospel," the record in history and experience of the work done by Christ since His Ascension in regenerating the world and the individual. These and other points are enforced with much freshness of illustration and with eloquence. The temper in which the assailants of Christianity are

met may be gathered from the following: "We do not condemn, we mourn. We do not denounce, but we do say it is unaccountably strange that the Lord Jesus should be doing amongst men to-day such marvellous works as we know He is, and men of proved ability and honesty of purpose should find no better occupation than disparaging His work and rejecting His claims." Much is adduced by Dr. Clifford in favour of Christianity which should tell on candid minds. Dr. Clifford is too busy a man to give his work time to condense and solidify; but considered as preaching, these addresses are of a high order.

A fifth edition of Dr. Dougan Clarke's *Offices of the Holy Spirit*, has been issued by Messrs. Partridge & Co. The little book is a simple, straightforward, and useful manual on the work of the Holy Spirit. It is practical, rather than scientific, and religious inquirers will find it helpful. The chapter on "Praying in the Spirit" is interesting, though perhaps one-sided.—*Sin and Redemption*, by John Garnier (Elliot Stock) is a long and somewhat heavily written theological treatise, in which there is evidence of a considerable expenditure of independent thinking. Without being at all imbued with the modern spirit, Mr. Garnier departs considerably from traditional views. There are true and important observations in his book, but if these are to reach the popular mind, they must be put in a more attractive form.

An address on *The Personality of the Preacher*, by the Rev. Joseph Dawson, of Halifax (Charles H. Kelly), is well worth the attention of those who are called to that function. It is written in a lively and incisive style, and brings into prominence elements in the success or failure of a preacher which are too often neglected.—*Life and Religion* is a small volume of sermons by Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, Vicar of Sandgate (Elliot Stock). The sermons are much above the average, and illustrate the main truths of religion from life.—The same publishers issue a small volume of hymns by J. R. Godfrey under the title *Lyra Bartonica*.

Tools for Teachers is precisely the book for which teachers of Bible classes and Sunday Schools have long waited. It is a judicious assortment of anecdotes and illustrations. They are chosen with exceptionally good taste from very various sources, and are skilfully arranged under different headings so as to be easy of reference. The volume is itself very entertaining, and parents in search of Sunday reading for their boys could not do better than

put it in their hands. Ministers who preach to the young will be grateful to the compiler, Mr. William Moodie, and to the publisher, Mr. Elliot Stock.

All lovers of literature are under obligation to Elizabeth A. Reed for her *Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern* (Chicago: Griggs & Co.). She not only gives us a clear account of the history of Persian literature from the most remote to the most recent times, but furnishes us with material for forming our own judgment by printing copious extracts from the various poets. The story of Sohrab and Rustem, the Shah Namah, the pathetic tale of Laili and Majnun, the works of Sadi, and many others, are here presented in most attractive samples. English readers who have not previously made acquaintance with Persian literature will be surprised and delighted with the vivacity and beauty, the noble ethical tone and the tender sentiment which it abundantly exhibits. Miss Reed has given us a charming and useful volume.

The Rev. T. P. Ring, B.A., Rector of Hanley, has published six addresses to working men on the Resurrection of Christ, under the title, *The Most Certain Fact of History*. The little volume will be useful to those who seek a plain and fair statement of the evidence for the Resurrection of Christ and of the nature of the risen body. It is in its second edition, and is published by Messrs. Skeffington & Son.—*The Master's Guide for His Disciples* (Elliot Stock), is a manual of all the recorded sayings of Jesus arranged topically for easy consultation. The three general headings are The Devout Life, The Practical Life, and The Intellectual Life. The classification has been made with considerable skill, and the small volume is strikingly pretty, and will prove serviceable both for study and for devotion.—In *Verses*, by Dora Sigerson (Elliot Stock) will be found a good deal of thought, poetry, and melody.

May I remind New Testament students that in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* they will find much that bears upon their studies. In the October number, for example, a new translation of the Book of Jubilees is begun by the Rev. R. H. Charles, an elaborate article by Prof. Büchler investigates the triennial reading of the Law and the Prophets, and there are several reviews of theological works, one by Mr. Upton of Principal Fairbairn's *Christ in Modern Theology*, all written with unusual *verve* and intelligence.—Issued by the same publisher, Mr. David Nutt, is another monthly magazine, the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*,

in which hints on Biblical matters from time to time appear, drawn from recondite sources.

It may also be worth while to remind our readers that they will find frequent references to New Testament study in the *Classical Review*, published by Mr. Nutt. Besides the reviews of commentaries which occasionally appear, and the discussions of points in grammar and in lexical usage, there are sometimes contributions on ancient customs, and notices of inscriptions which vividly illustrate passages in the New Testament.

It may be allowable to trespass into the domain of Old Testament literature so far as to note the appearance of two exceptionally thoughtful volumes on the Psalms. The one is the second volume of Dr. Alexander Maclaren's contribution to the *Expositor's Bible*, dealing with Psalms xxxix.-lxxxix. His translations of the Psalms are themselves a commentary, and his expositions abound in the fresh insight, the devout imagination, and the eye to life which have endeared him to English-speaking Christendom.—The other volume belongs to the excellent series of *Books for Bible Students* issued by the Wesleyans, and is entitled *The Praises of Israel: an Introduction to the Study of the Psalms*, by W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D., Handsworth College, Birmingham (Charles H. Kelly). It would be difficult to imagine a book better suited to its purpose, or written in a healthier spirit, and with more complete mastery of the subject. It is to be hoped that laymen as well as professional students will avail themselves of this attractive guide to a region of knowledge which it is most interesting and most necessary to explore. No one will read this small volume without feeling that he owes to Prof. Davison many fresh ideas and much stimulus.

From America there reaches us a volume of considerable utility. The American Society of Church History, at its annual meeting held in the city of Washington three years ago, took the bold step of resolving to prepare a series of denominational histories which would together constitute an American Church History. The first fruits of that resolution now appear in a large volume issued by the Christian Literature Company of New York, giving a statistical account of the numerous ecclesiastical bodies in the United States. This volume has been prepared by Dr. H. K. Carroll, and as it contains not only statistical tables of membership and so forth, but also a brief description of the beliefs which

distinguish the various bodies of Christians, it is likely to find interested readers on this side as well as in America.—To a somewhat similar department belongs Prof. Gumlich's *Christian Creeds and Confessions*, translated by L. A. Wheatley, and published by F. Norgate and Co. In this small volume of little more than one hundred pages are contained a brief account of the chief creeds of the Greek, the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Churches, an exposition of the doctrines delivered in these various creeds, and an account of the most important sects and their tenets, such as the Old Catholics, the Stundists, the Society of Friends, the Baptists, the Swedenborgians, the Irvingites, and so forth. There was room for such a volume, and many who have not access to or time to consult larger books will be thankful for Dr. Gumlich's brief account.

A new volume of *Sermons* by Prebendary Eyton is issued by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., and will be welcomed by many. The characteristic of Mr. Eyton's preaching is its ethical strength. In appealing to the conscience, and setting before his hearers the significance of this or that spiritual condition and the real value of life, he has few equals. One of the sermons here published is a severe but instructive criticism of the Salvation Army schemes.

Mr. William Dearing Harden has published with Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons *An Enquiry into the Truth of Dogmatic Christianity*, under the impression that if he frees our religion from the errors which have disfigured and maimed it, "Christianity will arise from the ashes of dogmatism purified, glorified." Mr. Harden has been born a century and a half too late, and his attempt to revive a crude Deism cannot now be looked upon with favour. It is a pity that so much acuteness and so much power of expression should be rendered nugatory by ignorance of the real questions at issue. Mr. Harden should have studied the best Christian Apologetics instead of engaging in controversy with a Roman Catholic bishop. There are clever things and useful things in Mr. Harden's book, but it cannot weigh in the great controversy.

It has long been felt that a selection from the writings of the first Christian centuries might profitably be used in schools and colleges. Indeed several attempts have been made to supply this desideratum. But whether because printed on blotting-paper or because not presenting quite the most suitable passages, none of

these has come into general use. The task of selecting appropriate extracts could not have been entrusted to better hands than Mr. Gwatkin's.¹ The passages which appear in this volume are, with one or two exceptions, precisely those with which the student should be familiar. The arrangement might perhaps be improved. Why separate the passages on the Neronian persecution? Might it not have been better to adopt either a chronological or a topical order: either to arrange the passages rigidly according to their date, or to classify them under such headings as Imperial Edicts, Narratives of Persecutions, The Canon, Ecclesiastical Government, and so forth? And, if the book is to be used in the class-room, the fact that a translation is given on the opposite page may give rise to difficulties. But the book as it stands is a most valuable addition to the student's apparatus.

MARCUS DODS.

¹ *Selections from Early Writers illustrative of Church History to the time of Constantine.* By Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Prof. of Eccl. History, Cambridge. (Macmillan & Co.).

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THE HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE VERDICT OF THE MONUMENTS.¹

THE books of the Old Testament, the literary legacy which Christianity has inherited from Judaism, purport to contain a historical account of the dealings of God with His chosen people in pre-Messianic times; and the Christian Church has received them as being scriptures given by inspiration, to teach us what, in these old days, man had believed concerning God, and the conception entertained by patriarch and prophet as to the duty which God required of them.

It is, however, in accordance with the questioning spirit of the present age to accept no belief which has no stronger ground than tradition, and to put to the test all those writings which claim to be regarded as speaking with authority. It cannot be denied that it is reasonable to expect from such writings that their claims to be accepted as authentic history shall be established beyond dispute before they appeal to us as supreme authorities in matters spiritual and ethical.

Within the last fifty years the aspect of Biblical criticism has completely changed. The Old Testament no longer stands before us as the only work which professes to have come down to us from the earliest historical times. We have now whole libraries of coeval writings, with whose records the historical statements of the Hebrew Scriptures can be compared.

It is a distasteful and disquieting task to apply critical

¹ *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, Queen's College, Oxford. London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1894, pp. 576. 7s. 6d.

methods of inquiry to matters long received as articles of faith, but the interests of truth should be paramount over all our predilections; and it is therefore desirable that all these new aids to the historical criticism of the Old Testament should be used as fully and freely as possible. Its books contain a great variety of writings, and the limits between the portions regarded as canonical and those considered to be apocryphal have varied from time to time. Religious truth has, therefore, much to gain and nothing to lose by the most searching application of honest and un-biassed criticism to these documents.

The higher criticism is, however, regarded with distrust by a very large section of the Christian Church; but this is not surprising, as the attitude of most modern critics towards some of the cherished beliefs of Christendom is one of hostility. In consequence of this, any work, whose object is the criticism of the critics, is sure of a welcome reception from many of those by whom the sacred volume is valued as containing a divine revelation.

The book before us professes to be an examination of the results of the higher criticism as they appear in the light of Oriental archæology, and the tone of Professor Sayce's introduction is, in general, one of antagonism to the dominant critical school. He mentions no names, and leaves the reader to infer that the critics have spoken with one voice. The only example which he gives of the "critical method" appears in a very different light in the correspondence to which it gave rise in the *Academy* for Oct. and Nov., 1893. He speaks of the arrogance of tone with which the critics speak, of their dogmatism, which is as unwarrantable as it is unscientific, of their taking baseless assumptions as if they were facts; and he charges them with putting forward their own prepossessions and fancies as if they were the revelation of a new gospel. The critics, Professor Sayce tells us, are popes, who proclaim the doctrine of their own

infallibility, and he claims that these assumptions and preconceptions, with which the higher critics have started, are swept away by the facts which Oriental archæology has brought to light. The object of this volume he states to be the justification of the confidence of the apologist, and the condemnation of the arrogance of the critic. 7

These are brave words. We shall see how far they are justified by his treatment of the subject. Our space will allow us to refer only to a few points, selected from the many which call for critical review. 7

As the book professes to treat of such portions of the Old Testament literature as can be brought to the touchstone of history, one naturally turns to those sections which deal with the subjects concerning which the critics and the apologists are most at variance. These are the Hexateuch on the one hand, and the later historical books, the Chronicles, and the small books which follow them, together with the historico-prophetical books of Daniel and Jonah, on the other.

In the section which treats of the older books of the Scriptures, as there are fewer actual points wherein the Hebrew and the other records overlap, the method of critical reasoning is, of necessity, one of inference rather than one based on comparison.

Professor Sayce can, with justice, claim that Oriental archæology has utterly confuted the notion that writing is a modern invention. An eminent philological authority not long since stated that books in alphabetic writing existed nowhere before the seventh century B.C., and that Moses lived a thousand years before book-writing; but we have now in our museums and libraries books as voluminous as any of the component volumes of the Pentateuch, which were extant in Egypt in the days of Moses. The literature of Babylon was probably of nearly equal extent and antiquity. There is reason to believe that the mythical

legends of Gilgames existed in the form in which they have come down to us in the days of Khammurabi, twenty-one centuries B.C. If Glaser's researches be trustworthy, the Minæan inscriptions of Arabia are examples of a genuinely alphabetic writing, which dates as far back as the days of Moses, and in a country not far from the confines of Palestine.

The Tel-el-Amarna tablets furnish important evidence in this respect, more especially those of them which were written from Palestinian cities, such as the despatch from King Ebed-Tob of Jerusalem. These show that not only were documents in the cuneiform character extant in Palestine before the period of the Exodus, but that the Babylonian language was used for purposes of international correspondence. There is, therefore, no longer any *a priori* difficulty in believing that parts, at least, of the earlier books of the Bible might have been written at the time in which they profess to have been produced, and in a Semitic language.

In treating of the early existence of collections of books in Palestine, we have a good example of the ingenuity with which Professor Sayce assumes the certainty of a conclusion based on hypothetical premises. Starting from the vassalage of Judah to Assyria, he argues, from the statement that a sundial had been set up by Ahaz, that he had adopted the Assyrian civilization; but one feature of Assyrian culture was the existence of libraries wherein scribes were employed to copy books. The men of Hezekiah are said to have copied the proverbs of Solomon. It is *certain*, therefore, he says, that there was a royal or public library in Jerusalem. If such a library existed, it must have been badly kept, for what should have been one of its greatest treasures, the book of the law, had got out of its place in the days of Josiah.

Professor Sayce has treated very fully of the Babylonian

element in the book of Genesis, especially in the narratives of the Creation, of the Deluge, and of the Dispersion of mankind. He argues fairly that as the Tel-el-Amarna tablets show the Babylonian language to have been in use in Palestine and known in Egypt before the days of Moses, it was likely that any one in those days, who possessed sufficient literary culture to write, would be acquainted with the literature of the neighbouring countries, and would be able to use the historical material which was then well known in Babylon. This is more especially true, as we know that at least one Babylonian myth had found its way to Egypt before that time. It is equally true that the same material was accessible to the scribe in the days of Ezekiel. In the subsequent paragraphs the parallelisms between the several Chaldæan myths and the two sections, Jehovist and Elohist, of the Genesis narrative of creation are set forth, and the Babylonian origin of the name, at least, of the Sabbath is maintained. In like manner Professor Sayce compares the two elements of the Deluge story of the Hebrews with those of the Chaldæans, and shows that the differences are chiefly due to the local colour of those versions which are of Palestinian origin, and to the pure monotheism which pervades them, which contrasts strongly with the polytheism of the Babylonian stories. He declines however to pronounce any opinion on the date at which the Hebrew version was written.

The 10th chapter of Genesis is considered by him to be not genealogical, but geographical, to be a descriptive chart of the countries around Palestine; and from the mention of Gog or Gyges, and of Gomer or the Cimmerii, he attributes it to a period not earlier than the 7th century B.C. The Ludim, who are described as sons of Mizraim, he believes to be the Lydian allies of Psammetichus. But the whole structure of the chapter, like that of the similar chapters in 1st Chronicles, is evidently genealogical; and the paragraph

concerning Nimrod, as well as the statement in verse 5, makes this clear. To get rid of this and other difficulties he regards the interjected passage referring to Nimrod as a later interpolation, probably of the Elohist author. The critics represented by Wellhausen attribute it to the older Jehovist writers.

The invasion of Palestine by Chedorlaomer and his allies is an episode upon which Babylonian monuments might be expected to cast some light, and there are certain inscriptions which show that such an invasion was not an improbable event. Prof. Sayce however makes the rash statement that this campaign has been *proved* to be historical. Naram-sin, king of Accad, who lived more than thirty centuries before Christ, tells us in an inscription that he conquered Apirak and Magan, the latter being possibly Egypt, or Midian. A later king, Ammi-ditana, the ninth king of the third dynasty of Berossus, who lived probably a little earlier than the date usually assigned to Abraham, calls himself king of the land of the Amorites. Between these two dates there lived a certain Kudurmabuk, probably about B.C. 2,300, who calls himself Father of the land of the Amorites. His name is on a clay cylinder in the British Museum, on a bronze canephorus in the Louvre, and in an inscription from Mugheir (W.A.I., 1 P. 2. iii.), which tells us that he had a son Eriaku, king of Larsa. These names are sufficiently like those in Genesis to suggest some connexion, but the dates are so hopelessly discordant that they effectually forbid identification. The names of Amraphel, Chedorlaomer, or Melchizedek, do not occur on any monument, and, if Winckler be correct, the name of the king of Larsa should be read Rim-sin, not Eriaku.

The tablet of Ebed-tob, discovered at Tel-el-Amarna, has thrown light on the position of the priest-king of Jerusalem, who seems in the time of Khuenaten to have been in many respects like his predecessor Melchizedek in the days of

Abraham. There are few points in the history of Abraham, or that of his son, for which we can expect to find monumental corroboration, but the ancient records give us sufficient information of a kind which confirms the claims of the narrative to be regarded as history, and discredits the theory that these patriarchs were eponymous heroes and not real persons. The argument from the place-names Jacob-el and Joseph-el, which has been used in this connexion, seems to be very feeble.

Prof. Sayce's treatment of the list of the kings of Edom is characteristic. The lists are detailed, and are therefore an extract from the official annals of Edom: Edom therefore must have had its scribes, as well as Canaan. The use of Edomite documents is therefore said to be proved, and upon this basis further hypotheses are founded.

The period of Egyptian history which covers the lifetime of Joseph is one of the most obscure, and one of which we have few monuments. Since the discovery of the tale of Anpu and Bata by De Rougé it has been supposed that there is in it some reference to the story of Potiphar's wife; and, as the D'Orbiney papyrus which contains it was written about 1,300 B.C., several centuries after Joseph's death, and under another *régime*, it is quite possible that the tradition of this episode may have been used by the novelist, as the central point in the story, which he lengthened and disguised by the incidents of the talking cattle, and the wearisome mythological details of the transformations of the younger brother.

The tablet of the seven years' famine referred to by Prof. Sayce is, as he has admitted, of very late, probably indeed of Roman date; and was engraved as a kind of pious fraud to furnish an ancient precedent for the temple privileges of the priest. Even were it genuine, it professed to be of too great an antiquity; for the king, from whose reign it is dated, was the third king of the third dynasty; and reigned

about thirty-eight centuries B.C. The tablet of Baba, from El Kab, which is given by Brugsch in his history, and which dates from the early days of the 17th dynasty, is more nearly synchronous with Joseph's famine; but is probably a little later.

Prof. Sayce considers that the word *Abrek*, the proclamation before the triumphant Joseph, was a Sumerian word, meaning, "the seer." It is scarcely fair to say that the hieroglyphic dictionary has been tortured to no purpose to find terms into which it could be resolved. The word suggested by Canon Cook *ab-rek* in the sense "rejoice!" does no violence to the Egyptian idiom. Mr. Renouf has found this word in a hieratic papyrus, used in an invocation *abrek seutá hāuk*, "rejoice; may thy flesh be preserved sound."¹ There is also a less probable, though equally possible interpretation which is sanctioned by Brugsch, derived from a ceremonial temple-formula which Dümichen has copied, in which occur the words *barek na en uat tek*, "we bow before thy double throne," and the first word of this might have furnished the Hebrew writer with his imperative, which would accord more closely with the meaning ascribed to it by the Vulgate and by Aquila. Either of these is more probable than the view that in a proclamation intended to be "understood of the people" a foreign word, which has never been found in any Egyptian inscription, should be used. There is more difficulty in understanding the meaning of the first syllables of Zaphnathpaaneah, whose transliteration into the Egyptian character has not yet been satisfactorily made out, and is wisely not attempted by Prof. Sayce. On the date of the oldest element in the Joseph-story, Egyptology has not yet spoken

¹ It is right to note here that Mr. Renouf has stated a little difficulty in connexion with this transliteration, as he considers it can only be done by suppressing the thematic vowel *u*, but this being a short unaccented vowel, not represented in the Egyptian script, might easily be abraded in the transliteration. The hypothesis that *abrek* represents *abaraku* requires even more violent changes.

conclusively. The view that the names in the history can only have originated after the period of Osorkon is very far from having been proved.

The conclusion of Prof. Sayce's study of Genesis is characteristic. "We have seen that in many instances Oriental discovery has shown that such (ancient) documents actually exist in it"; and yet he has not, from first to last, proved in a single instance the undoubted incorporation of a single document. In the case of the Creation and Flood narratives there are close parallelisms and a few words possibly may have been adopted from the Chaldæan source, but, although Prof. Sayce has shown that Oriental archæology illustrates and explains the Genesis narrative, he has failed to prove the real incorporation in it of any documents. He considers that there is ground for reconsidering the literary analysis of the book; and proposes that a fundamental division according to sources should precede the partition on philological grounds according to supposed authorship; the result being that it will cease to be "a mere literary plaything to be sliced and fitted together according to the dictates of modern philology." It is Oriental archæology which, according to him, should be the primary arbiter as to the slicing and refitting of the parts.

In the discussion of the Exodus Prof. Sayce has not added anything to the well-worn theme. The Egyptian monuments are as yet silent on the subject, and we have no guide but tradition. Prof. Sayce has pointed out that the absence of the proper name of the Pharaoh is so contrary to Egyptian custom that it is an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Book of the Exodus. He has adopted the traditional opinion that Rameses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Menepthah the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Prof. Petrie's explorations of Pithom have added to our knowledge of Egyptian domestic history, but nothing material concerning the oppression of Israel.

There is no archæological evidence for the view, first put forward by Mr. Greene, which Prof. Sayce takes of the site of the mountain of the law-giving. It is for purely geographical considerations that he departs from the traditional belief in Serbal, or its neighbour, and believes that the genuine mount Sinai lay eastward, and was one of the hills of the mount Seir range.

At this point it would be natural for the Oriental archæologist to take up the consideration of the relation of the ceremonial and civil codes which profess to have been delivered to Israel in the wilderness, and to compare them with the corresponding laws and rituals of other neighbouring peoples at that point of time. There may be something in Prof. Sayce's excuse that the time has not yet come for a systematic comparison; but even with our present knowledge, if the information which can be obtained from the available monuments were judiciously arranged, an interesting chapter might have been written on the comparative morphology of the Hebrew ceremonial observances. There is one advantage in leaving this subject aside, that it becomes unnecessary to refer to the question as to the date of the Deuteronomic code, one of the most burning of the controversies raised by the higher criticism.

Passing by the intermediate periods of the history, we come to the second portion, around which the critical war has been most hotly waged. In the case of the books of Chronicles, Professor Sayce admits, at the outset, that the statements of its author are not exact; that his use of his material was uncritical, and the inferences which he drew were unsound: he so consistently exaggerates numbers, that his unsupported statements must be received with caution. "He cared as little for history, in the modern European sense of the word, as the Oriental of to day, who considers himself at liberty to embellish or modify the narrative he is repeating in accordance with

his fancy, or the moral he wishes to draw from it." These charges he justifies by quoting instances, the mis-spelling of names, the gross exaggeration of the numbers of the armies of Ahaz, Uzziah, and Zerah, and the ignorance that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were two names for the same person.

Nevertheless he wishes, in some sort, to rehabilitate the Chronicler, and so he discusses several of those statements which have been regarded by the critics as of doubtful authenticity. The Chronicler relates that Manasseh, King of Judah, was carried away captive to Babylon, not to Nineveh, by the King of Assyria, and that subsequently he was restored to his kingdom. This happened in the days of Assurbanipal, and Professor Sayce proceeds to show how these statements may possibly be true. Assurbanipal *may* have for some time lived in Babylon, as his father had rebuilt it. He had given Babylon to his brother Samassum-yukin as his province, and he had rebelled against Assurbanipal; and among those who aided him in his revolt were the Kings of Syria and Palestine. One of these, Professor Sayce tells us, was Manasseh. The contemporary compiler of the annals, however, knew nothing of Manasseh. He enumerates the rebels as the people of Akkad, of Aram, and of the sea coast from Akaba to Babsalimitu, Ummanikas, King of Elam, the Kings of Goim, Syria, and Ethiopia, the people of Borsippa, Babylon, Sippara, and Kutha.

This insurrection was quelled by Assurbanipal, whose capital was Nineveh. "What more likely, therefore, than that the disaffected Jewish prince was punished, like so many other princes of his time, by being led into captivity?" "Babylon would have been the most natural place to which the Jewish King could have been brought." But we have in the annals the account of the captivity of other Kings. It was to Nineveh the rebel Kings of Egypt were

brought; to Nineveh, Mergallu, King of Tubal, brought his daughter as a hostage; to the same place came the King of Cilicia and the eldest son of the King of Minni; to Nineveh were brought the Governor of Bitimbi, Vaiteh, King of Arabia, and the spoils of Elam. The annals make no mention of the bringing of any prisoners to Babylon.

The critics having commented on the improbability of Manasseh's having been liberated, Professor Sayce instances Necho the King of Sais, who was restored to his province by the Assyrian King. "Assurbanipal himself had caused Necho to be deposed, and to be brought to Nineveh in iron chains, and yet a little later he allowed him to return to Egypt, and assume once more his royal power." The story in the annals does not quite accord with this. It was the generals of the King who took Necho and brought him to Nineveh; and when he was brought into the presence of Assurbanipal, he at once granted favour, costly presents and honours to Necho, and sent him back to his kingdom of Sais.

Although the monuments are thus silent concerning Manasseh's imprisonment and release, there is nothing improbable in the story itself, except the substitution of Babylon for Nineveh. But when, a few pages farther on, Professor Sayce refers to his bundle of hypotheses as "the corroboration of the account of Manasseh's captivity," and founds on it an argument in support of the acceptance of the Chronicler's history, the basis of his argument seems to be as much an assumption as anything that the critics have said on the other side.

In discussing the book of Esther, Professor Sayce speaks with no uncertain sound. "The woman Esther can have had no existence save in the imagination of a Jewish writer; and the identification of Hadassah with the old Babylonian goddess Istar, would have been the work of an age which had forgotten who Istar was." Ahasuerus he identifies

with Xerxes ; but the only wife of Xerxes known to history was Amestris, daughter of Otanes, married to him before the third year of his reign, and who continued his queen until his death. "Only one conclusion, consequently, seems to be possible. The story of Esther is an example of Jewish Haggadah which has been founded upon one of those semi-historical tales of which the Persian chronicles seem to have been full." In other words, he regards it as a pure fiction of late date.

The book of Jonah is dismissed with a similar verdict. He considers that, from the use of the name King of Nineveh, it must have been written after the complete destruction of the Assyrian Empire, and, therefore, could not have been the work of the contemporary of Jeroboam II. He only suggests Dr. Trumbull's hypothesis, that the whole episode is a variant of the story of the monster Oannes, given by Berossus.

As his conclusion with regard to the book of Daniel is to the effect that it is not historically accurate, the Tract Committee have appended a short note to the effect that some authorities take a different view ; and they refer to the late Professor Fuller's articles in *THE EXPOSITOR*, 3rd Series I., II.

The portion of the book first tested by Professor Sayce is the account of the capture of Babylon. The inscriptions of Cyrus show that Babylon was taken without any fighting. The king Nabonidus had made himself unpopular, and consequently Cyrus made an easy conquest ; so much so that business in Babylon was not suspended, as we know from the existence of contract tablets dated a few days before and a few days after that event.

But Daniel says nothing whatever of a siege. He only tells us that Belshazzar was slain that night. This is not the real difficulty of the passage, which lies in the names Belshazzar and Darius. Belshazzar (Bel-sarra-utzur) was

the eldest son of the King Nabonidus, but he never reigned, nor was he co-regent, nor was he even of the same family as Nebuchadnezzar. Prof. Sayce indeed makes a feeble attempt to make as much as possible of the prince by supposing that while his father Nabonidus remained in the capital busied with his antiquarian pursuits and with his endeavours to centralise the kingdom, "Belshazzar showed himself to the world as a man of action." The only ground for this last statement is that, according to a contract tablet, published by Strassmaier, his steward once made a sale of some wool, and on another occasion one of his servants presented for him some cattle to Bet-Uri at Sippara. The only other reference to him in the monuments is a prayer of his father's, wherein Nabonidus asks that Sinu may fix firmly in his son's heart a sense of awe of the divinity.

Professor Sayce sums up this discussion by the statement of his belief that "the name of Darius and the story of the slaughter of the Chaldean King are alike derived from that unwritten history which in the East of to-day is still made by the people, and which blends together in a single picture the manifold events and personages of the past,"—in plain language, that it is not history at all. With regard to the apocalyptic chapters of Daniel, he regards them as compositions later than the reign of Alexander.

We must pass by Professor Sayce's treatment of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, the difficulties concerning which he puts very clearly. They are compilations of the same date as the Chronicles, and not older than 350 B.C.

In conclusion, looking over the entire work, there are two points of view from which we may judge it. In the first place, as to its intrinsic worth as a contribution to Biblical literature, it is a readable exposition of some of those discoveries in Oriental archæology which illustrate the Old Testament, and, as such, it is of considerable value. There are many minor details in which many of those in-

terested in Egyptology and Assyriology will probably not agree with Professor Sayce; but these do not affect the general value of the work in this respect. A considerable part of the book is, as far as the purpose of the work is concerned, little better than padding; for example, the story of the Mohar, the tale of Sineha, and the disquisitions on Palestinian anthropology and on the origin of the alphabet.

The second point of view from which this book must be judged is its relation to the purpose for which it has been written. That object was to test the results of the higher criticism by the discoveries of Oriental archæology. When we compare the general results at which the archæologist has arrived with those of the critics, there is not much to choose between them. Professor Sayce is, of course, at perfect liberty to make what conjectures and inferences he thinks his authorities warrant. He has carefully guarded his position by telling us he writes as an archæologist, and not as a theologian; but one cannot help inquiring, if the archæologist pronounces whole books to be unhistorical, and others to be distorted and falsified, what becomes of the theology which they teach?

If we discount the tendency to assume that his hypothetical conclusions are proved facts, and a certain want of perspective in his treatment of some parts of his subject, we might regard much of his criticism as fair, if it had not been heralded by such a strong and scarcely qualified condemnation of those critics who had gone before him. In his introduction he has told us that the period of scepticism is over, and the period of reconstruction has begun; that the explorer and decipherer have given back to us the old documents and the old history in a new and changed form; but nevertheless substantially the same. If by the old documents and the old history he means the Scriptures and the story contained in them, it can scarcely be claimed

that, as a narrative of the Divine dealing with men, they have fared any better at the hand of Professor Sayce than they have at the hands of any other critics. He has come into the field to show the fallacy of the conclusions of the critics, and has ended by adopting a position not dissimilar from theirs. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge have, like the King of Moab of old, summoned their Balaam from the literature of the East to curse the critics, and lo! he has blessed them altogether.

ALEXANDER MACALISTER.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

XVII. THE ELECTION OF ISRAEL.

WE have now to consider the Pauline apologetic in relation to the last of the three topics on which it bears, *the Election of Israel*. The materials available for our purpose are contained in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of the Epistle to the Romans.

The subject is very abruptly introduced. There appears to be no connection between the close of chapter eighth and the beginning of chapter ninth. And there is indeed no *logical* connection, but there is a very close *emotional* one. The subject is suggested to the writer's mind on the principle of contrast. He has been expatiating with impassioned eloquence on the peace-giving faith, and inspiring hope of believers in Christ. But when he has ended his song of triumph and paused for a moment to recover breath, the bitter reflection suddenly suggests itself—in all this peace and joy of faith and hope most of my countrymen have no share. It is a reflection most painful to his feelings as a Jew who loves his race, and takes pride in their national prerogatives and privileges. But the fact that

Israel is prevalently unbelieving is more than a source of personal grief to Paul the Jew; it is a serious difficulty for him to grapple with as the apostle of the Gentiles, and the advocate of a universal gospel independent of Judaism, and as one whose mission among the Gentiles had been greatly successful. For did not the unbelief of Israel, taken along with the extensive reception of the gospel by Gentiles, signify the cancelling of Israel's election, the rejection of the Jews and the substitution of the Gentiles in their place as the objects of Divine favour? Or, if it did not signify this, was it not an argument against his gospel to this effect: the Pauline Gospel cannot be true, for it is rejected by the mass of the elect people? Thus does the apostle appear placed in a dilemma, on neither horn of which he will care to be impaled. How does he get out of the dilemma?

He deals with the hard problem in two ways, in both of which he successfully escapes the dreaded inference that his gospel is illegitimate. First he reckons with the facts on the assumption that they signify an absolute final cancelling of Israel's election, striving to show that even in that case there is no presumption against his gospel. The argument of his opponents being: if you are right in your view of Christianity, then God has rejected His chosen people; but such a rejection is impossible, therefore you are wrong; his reply in the first instance is: such a rejection is *not* impossible. This is the line of defence pursued in the ninth and tenth chapters. But the apostle is not content with this line of defence. He proceeds next to consider more carefully whether the facts do necessarily amount to a final absolute rejection of Israel, and comes to the conclusion that they do not, so of course again evading the unwelcome inference of the falsity of his Gentile gospel. This is the train of thought in the eleventh chapter. This two-sided apologetic argument we have now to consider in detail.

I. The argument as adjusted to the hypothesis of a cancelled election.

The apostle guards against unfavourable inferences from this construction of the facts by three distinct arguments. The first of these is, that there was always an election within the election; the second, that in election God is sovereign and not under law to the elect; the third, that if Israel was rejected it was her own fault: she had brought it upon herself by a habit of disobedience and unbelief for which she had had a bad reputation all through her history.

1. *There was always an election within the election.* This is the gist of ix. 6-9. What the apostle says here is in substance this: It is certainly a serious thing to speak of Israel's election as cancelled, for that would seem to amount to saying that God's word declaring Israel to be His peculiar treasure had been made void. But we must distinguish between election and election. There is an election that is cancellable, and an election that cannot be cancelled, an outer circle that may be effaced, and an inner circle that is ineffaceable. There always have been these two elections, the outer and the inner, an Israel of God within the Israel after the flesh, a seed of Jacob the child of promise within the seed of Abraham. The two elements can be traced all along the course of Israel's history; they are very recognisable now. There is an Israel after the flesh, and an Israel after the promise at this hour. And it is of the former only that cancelling of election can be predicated. The election within the election stands, for this inner circle is to be found within the Christian Church. It cannot therefore be said now that the word of God calling Israel to be a chosen race has been rendered void, except in a sense in which the same thing could have been said at any time in Israel's history, *e.g.* in the time of Elijah.

2. *In election God is sovereign.* This is the import of ix.

10-24. The leading thought in this section is that in electing acts God is free; that as no people has a claim to be elected, so no people has a claim to the continuance of its election; that what God sovereignly begins He may sovereignly end. There may be good reasons why God should not end what He has solemnly begun, but they are to be found in God not in man. The apostle, having in view to beat down Jewish pride, which thought that the elect race had a claim to a monopoly and to the perpetual enjoyment of divine favour, asserts the sovereignty of God in the business of election in a very absolute and peremptory manner. Going back to the commencement of Israel's history, he shows how conspicuously God's sovereignty asserted itself even there, inasmuch as it determined which of the two sons about to be borne by Rebecca was to be the heir of the promise before the children were born, therefore before anything in the conduct of the two sons had emerged to make the election turn on personal merit. The elder, it was announced beforehand, was to serve the younger, so excluding not merely personal character, but civil law and custom as a ground of choice. This might seem arbitrary and even unrighteous, but the apostle is not careful to repel such a charge. The point he insists on is the matter of fact; arbitrary or not, so stands the history. And he goes on to show that it was not a solitary instance of sovereign action, pointing out that God claimed the right of so acting in all cases in the words: "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion," then citing the case of Pharaoh in proof that God acts on that principle not merely to the positive effect of sovereignly exercising mercy, but also to the negative effect of hardening unto destruction. An extreme position which naturally suggests the objection: what room under this doctrine for the imputation of guilt, for who hath resisted His will? Had

this difficulty been stated by a devout enquirer, anxious to maintain an equilibrium between Divine sovereignty and human responsibility, the apostle would doubtless have taken pains to soften, modify, and adjust his statements. Of this they certainly stand in need, for the assertion that God hardens men to their destruction is unquestionably capable of most mischievous perversion to the detriment of both piety and morality. Had St. Paul been in the mood to pursue an apologetic line of thought with a view to reconciling Divine sovereignty with Divine love on the one hand, and with human responsibility on the other, he could easily have found materials for the purpose even in the history of God's dealings with the king of Egypt. For what was the natural tendency of the signs and wonders wrought in the land of Ham? Surely to soften Pharaoh's heart to the effect of letting Israel go. God hardened Pharaoh's heart by means fitted and intended to have the opposite effect. And the fact is so in all cases. The means of hardening are ever means naturally fitted to soften and win. The apostle knew this as well as we, but he was not in the mood to indulge in such a strain of explanatory, conciliatory remark. He was dealing with proud men who thought the election of their fathers gave them a prescriptive right to Divine favour. Therefore instead of softening down hard statements he goes on to make harder statements still; representing God as a potter, and men as clay, out of which God can make such vessels as He pleases, one to be a vessel of mercy, another to be a vessel of destruction, to be dashed to pieces at the maker's will. As against human arrogance it is a legitimate representation, but as an exact, complete statement of the relation between God and man it cannot of course be regarded. So viewed, it would be simple fatalism.

3. How far the apostle was from intending to teach fatalism appears from his third argument under the first

alternative, the object of which is to *throw the blame of Israel's rejection on herself*. This argument forms the leading contents of chapter x. He here brings against Israel the grave charge of not submitting to the righteousness of God. Fully recognising the good side of the national character, zeal for righteousness as popularly conceived, he nevertheless holds his countrymen responsible for the great miscarriage of their election, finding in their passion for righteousness not only a lack of knowledge or spiritual insight, for which they might be pitied, but a culpable spirit of self-will. He ascribes to them the ambition to establish a righteousness which they can regard as their own achievement. They are too proud to be debtors to God. They desire to be able to say: "God, I thank Thee, that I am not as other men." Hence the Gospel of pardon to the sinful has no attractions for them. Its very simplicity is an offence to their pride. They are unbelievers, not because they have not heard the gospel, or have not understood its meaning. They have heard enough, and they have understood too well. And the present unbelief is but the reproduction of a standing feature in the character of the race in all its generations, which provoked the remonstrances of God's messengers from Moses to Isaiah. Moses said: "I will provoke you to jealousy by a no-nation, by an unwise nation will I anger you," thereby hinting a threat of degradation from the position of the elect race. Isaiah still more outspokenly revealed such a Divine purpose of disinheritance by signaling on the one hand the honour God had received among the outside peoples, and on the other hand the indifference and even hostility with which His messages by the prophets had been treated by the chosen nation. The drift of the citations is: unbelief and disobedience have been features of the Jewish national character all through her history, provoking God to repent of His choice, and to threaten disinheritance. The same

features reappear in the living generation, in exaggerated form, in reference to the mission of Jesus; till now at length the Divine patience is all but exhausted, and the oft-repeated threat is on the point of becoming an accomplished fact.

II. But at this point the thought of the apostle takes a new turn. He recoils from the idea of an absolute and final disinheritance; nay, as we shall see, he finds even in the prophetic oracles which threaten such a disaster a bit of solid ground whereon patriotic hope can plant its foot. Looked at broadly, the relative oracles do seem to point at complete rejection; therefore the question inevitably arises whether that is really what was intended and what is now actually happening. The apostle does not shirk the question. He plainly asks it, and as plainly answers it, and that in the negative.

"I say, then, hath God thrust away His people? God forbid!" He speaks vehemently, and he has a good right. For he too is an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. And he speaks confidently, again with good right. For he remembers his own history, that of one who also had been unbelieving and disobedient, and he cannot but hope that God who had mercy on him, has grace in store for his countrymen, notwithstanding all their provocations. Moved at once by patriotism, and by the hope inspired by his own conversion, he sets himself to put as encouraging a construction on the facts as possible. In the first place he lays stress on the mere fact of the election. "God hath not thrust away His people whom He foreknew."¹ He has indeed already combated the idea that the act of election gives the elected a claim to perpetual enjoyment of the privilege. But quite compatibly with that position, he holds that an act of election may bring God under obligation to Himself, that an act of that kind once

¹ xi. 2.

solemnly performed cannot lightly be recalled without loss of dignity. It is therefore, in his view, a strong point in favour of any people that God hath foreknown or chosen it to any signal position in history. The dignity of the Divine character is on the side of continuance. From this point of view it may be affirmed that "the gifts and the calling of God are without repentance."¹ Next the apostle extracts comfort from the consideration that now, as in Elijah's time, there are doubtless more faithful ones than at first appears; that the remnant, the inner circle of the elect, is not by any means so inconsiderable a body as in hours of depression one is apt to suppose. When Elijah thought he stood alone in a faithless, apostate time, there were 7,000 men who had not bowed the knee to Baal,—a small number compared with the whole nation, but a great number compared with one man. So now the sad-hearted apostle would bear in mind that there were not a few believing Israelites in all the churches. "So then also in the present time there is a remnant according to the election of grace."²

Still the sad fact remained that the great majority of the Jewish nation were unbelievers. What is to be said of them? In the first place, it must be sorrowfully acknowledged that they have been blinded by inveterate prejudice, in accordance with Scripture representations.³ The picture of a blind, decrepit old man, bowed down with age and infirmity, suggested by the concluding words of the quotation from the Psalter, is a very pathetic representation of a people in a state of religious senility. When a people gets to this senile condition in religion, its inevitable fate, one would say, is to stumble and fall; for blind, feeble old age can neither see obstacles in the way, nor recover its balance when it strikes its foot against a stone.

What then? Is Israel's doom to stumble and fall, and die, and disappear from the face of the earth, like an aged

¹ xi. 29.² xi. 5.³ xi. 7-10.

man when the powers of physical nature fail? That is the question the apostle has to face. "I say then, did they stumble (over the Christian faith) that they might fall (finally and irretrievably)?"¹ Not this either can he believe. He repels the idea with another energetic *μὴ γένοιτο*. But is it that he simply *will* not believe it? or has he any shadow of a reason for taking up this position? It must be confessed that the prospect of discovering such a reason is at first sight not encouraging; for what can befall blind, tottering old age but death and burial? It is easy to see that the apostle is conscious of having a stiff piece of argument on hand. His "I say then's," and his "God forbids" are the sure index of laborious effort. But a patriotic heart can discern a "bit of blue sky" where other eyes can see nothing but dark clouds. The apostle finds the bit of blue sky even in the threatening words quoted from the song of Moses: "I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people"; and backs up his *μὴ γένοιτο* by the remark: "but by their fall salvation to the Gentiles, unto the provoking of jealousy in them."² Paraphrased, his reasoning is to this effect: The facts do not mean final, irretrievable rejection, the construction I, taking encouragement from the words of Moses, put on the facts is this: that which has been the occasion of stumbling to unbelieving Jews, Christ crucified, has brought salvation to the Gentiles; and salvation has come to the Gentiles to make unbelieving Jews feel envious at the loss of privileges that have fallen to the lot of others, and desirous to recover them. It is an ingenious turn of thought; but, for St. Paul, it is more than that—a deep conviction firmly rooted in his mind, and influencing his whole conduct. For even when he is busy evangelizing the Gentiles, he has his countrymen in view, hoping to reach them in a round-about way through the conversion of heathens to the Christian faith. When we see him turning

¹ *Rom. xi. 11.*² *Ibid.*

his back on the Jewish synagogue, and addressing himself to Pagans, we might think he is abandoning the Jews to their fate in a huff, and that he is not going to trouble himself any more about them. But it is not so. He is only changing his tactics. Having failed to win Jews to Christ by direct preaching of the gospel, he is trying to *spite* them into faith. "Inasmuch as I am an apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office, if by any means I may provoke to emulation my flesh, and may save some of them."¹ That is, I do my utmost to convert the non-elect peoples that the elect people may be made jealous, and at length accept the grace of God in the gospel it has hitherto despised. Such is the apostle's *modus operandi*, and such his motive; and he expects his Gentile readers to sympathise with him both in method and in motive. They will lose nothing, he assures them, by such generous conduct. If they have benefited by the fall of the Jews, they will benefit still more by their rising again. The ultimate union of Jew and Gentile in one commonwealth of religious faith will be as life from the dead to a world long cursed with alienations between man and man, and race and race.

The foregoing thought, that the rejection of the Jews in favour of the Gentiles was not an absolute rejection, but only a new way of working beneficially on the Jewish mind, possesses genuine biographic interest as the utterance of a noble man animated by the invincible optimism of Christian patriotism. But it is also of value as throwing light upon St. Paul's way of thinking on the subject of *election*. These chapters of the Epistle to the Romans have been, by scholastic theology, put to uses for which they were never intended. They are not a contribution to the doctrine of the eternal predestination of individuals to everlasting life or death. Their theme is not the election of individuals, but of a people. And the point of view from which the

¹ Rom. xi. 13, 14.

principle of election is contemplated is historical. The writer treats of Divine choices as they reveal themselves in this world in the career and destiny of nations. But still more important is it to note that in these chapters election is not conceived of as an arbitrary choice to the enjoyment of benefits from which all others are excluded. Election is to *function* as well as to favour, and the function has the good of others besides the elect in view. As the Jews, according to the Hebrew Scriptures, were chosen to be a blessing eventually to the Gentiles, so, according to the apostle, the Gentile no-nations were chosen in turn to be God's people for their own good doubtless, but also for the spiritual benefit of the temporarily disinherited Jews. It is unnecessary to point out that this view is in accordance with the uniform teaching of Scripture, and very specially with the teaching of Christ, in which the elect appear as the light, the salt, and the leaven of the world. It is a vital truth strangely overlooked in elaborate creeds large enough to have room for many doctrines much less important, and far from sufficiently recognised, as yet, even in the living faith of the church, though the missionary spirit of modern Christianity may be regarded as an unconscious homage to its importance.

Before passing from this topic it may be worth while to note the figures employed by the apostle to denote the function of the elect in reference to the world. Whereas our Lord employed for this purpose the emblems of light, salt, and leaven, St. Paul uses the analogies of the first-fruits of a harvest presented as an offering to God and so sanctifying the whole crop, and of the roots of a tree as determining the character of the tree and of its produce.¹ The former analogy assigns by implication to the elect representative character. They are the ten men in Sodom whose presence saves the whole guilty community. The latter analogy

¹ Rom. xi. 16.

ascribes to the elect a vital influence in society. They are the roots of the social tree, from which rises up through trunk and branches a spiritual sap to be ultimately transmuted into Christian deeds and virtues.

The apostle expresses his belief that Israel will at length be provoked to jealousy, in other words that the now unbelieving elect race will one day be converted to Christianity. This cheering hope occupies the principle place in his thoughts throughout the remainder of the eleventh chapter.¹ Here again he has recourse to metaphor to aid him in the expression of his views with regard both to the present and to the future. His figure this time is taken from the process of grafting. What has happened is that some branches of an olive tree have been broken off, and a wild olive slip, the Gentile church, has been grafted in their place. The branches were broken off for unbelief, but it is hoped that their unbelief will not be final, that on the contrary the severed branches will be regrafted on the tree.² The parable is in some respects defective. The disciple here comes far behind the Master, whose parabolic utterances were so true to nature. The process of grafting a wild slip on a good olive is in the natural sphere useless, and the process of regrafting broken-off branches impossible. But St. Paul's idea is clear enough. He expects a time when Jew and Gentile shall be united in one church. He cannot believe in the final unbelief of Israel. As little can he believe in the utter rejection of Israel. The character of God, as he conceives it, forbids the thought. God must be consistent with Himself, stable in his ways of acting, therefore it must be held firmly as a great principle that His gifts and calling are without repentance; always, of course, without prejudice to the Divine independence and freedom, which must ever be strenuously asserted against pretensions to perpetuity of privilege on the part either of Jew or of Gentile. For while

¹ *Rom.* xi. 23-36.

² *Rom.* xi. 17-23.

God owes nothing to man, he owes something to Himself. It is God-worthy to be unchanging, and on this firm foundation rests the great word: ἀμεταμέλητα τὰ χαρίσματα καὶ ἡ κλήσις τοῦ θεοῦ.

It is well to note here the relativity of Biblical utterances, and the necessity of balancing one statement against another. In a sentence going before the one just quoted the apostle ascribes ἀποτομία to God, in the Authorised Version rendered "severity," the literal meaning being propensity to prune or lop off. In this sentence, on the other hand, he ascribes to God just the opposite quality, a propensity to continue privileges once conferred. It is an antinomy, but not one of the kind which some have found in the apostle's writings, antinomies which he makes no attempt to reconcile, nay, does not even seem to be conscious of. He is conscious of the antinomy in this case, and offers a solution. His solution is to treat the pruning, the cutting off, or, to revert to a previous form of expression, the blinding or hardening, as partial and temporary. "All Israel shall be saved"¹ he boldly avers, taking courage from Old Testament texts which seem to point that way. The mystery of the past shall be matched by a mystery to be revealed in the future. The mystery of the past, hid *in* God, not from Him, only from men till the time of manifestation, was the admission of the outside nations to participation in the Messianic salvation. That mystery, of old a secret known only to the initiated few, inspired prophets and poets, is now a fact patent to all the world, a mystery no longer. The other mystery, the mystery of the future, is the ultimate softening of Israel's hard, impenitent heart, so that she shall be willing to be united with converted Pagans in one grand fellowship of faith and hope and worship. St. Paul expects this, because Israel, though hostile to Christianity, is yet beloved of Providence for the sake of devout forefathers, who trusted

¹ Rom. xi. 26.

God, served Him faithfully, and received from Him promises of eternal friendship.¹ He even expects it on the ground of equity, or what we may call poetic justice. As Gentiles have benefited from Jewish unbelief, receiving the offer of what Israel had refused, as the beggars in the highway were invited to the supper which well-to-do people had politely declined, so it was meet and fair that Jews should benefit from the mercy shown to Gentiles and at length share it with them.² So the final issue will be: all alike guilty in turn of unbelief, and all alike partakers of Divine mercy; no room for envy and to God all the glory.³

“God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that He might have mercy upon all.” Such is the last word of this magnificent apology at once for Paulinism and for Divine Providence. Like all great generalisations, it suggests more than it expressly teaches, fascinating the imagination by its vagueness and provoking questions which it does not answer. It breathes the spirit of optimism, and encourages the larger and even the largest hope, yet one knows not how far he may with certainty infer therefrom the final salvation of all men or even the conversion of the Jews. It looks as if St. Paul himself had been led on by the resistless logic of his great argument, and by the inspiration of the Divine Spirit, to pen a sentence whose depth he felt himself unable to fathom. And so argument gives place to worship, apologetic to admiration of the inscrutable wisdom of God, to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.⁴

A. B. BRUCE.

¹ *Rom.* xi. 28.

² *vv.* 30, 31.

³ *v.* 32.

⁴ *vv.* 33, 36.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

I. PREPARATORY: THE OLD TESTAMENT, AND THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

IN this series of papers I shall endeavour to reproduce the teaching of the various writers of the New Testament about the Second Coming of Christ, noting the agreement and difference of different writers. I shall also endeavour to grasp the significance, and estimate the value, of this teaching, and to indicate its practical bearing on the spiritual life of men to-day. For this inquiry I shall in this paper prepare a way by discussing certain teaching and phraseology in the Old Testament which sheds light on that of the New. This I shall supplement by referring to other teaching in an important work which is in some sense a bridge, in date and in modes of thought, between the Eschatology of the Old Testament and that of the New, viz. the Book of Enoch.

Joel begins his prophecy by announcing a calamity about to overwhelm, in consequence of their sins, the people of Judah and Jerusalem. This calamity he compares to the approach of an irresistible army consuming everything in its path; and the time of its approach he speaks of as the "day of Jehovah." So Joel i. 15, "Alas for the day: for near is the day of Jehovah, and as destruction from the Almighty it will come"; and chap. ii. 1, 2, "Blow a trumpet in Zion, sound alarm in My holy mountain, let all the inhabitants of the land tremble, for there cometh the day of Jehovah, for it is near; a day of darkness and gloom, a day of cloud and thick darkness." Then follows a description of the invading army, concluding, in verses 10, 11, thus: "before it earth trembleth and heaven shaketh, sun and moon

have become dark, and stars have withdrawn their shining ; and Jehovah hath uttered His voice before His army ; for very great is His camp, for strong is that which doeth His word, for great is the day of Jehovah and very terrible ; who shall endure it ? ” Then follows an exhortation to repentance, and encouragement to return to Jehovah, the God of Israel.

In chapter ii. 28 (chap. iii. 1 in the Hebrew Bible) the prophet looks beyond the temporal deliverance which will follow repentance to still greater blessings in the future. The dissolution of nature, which in chapter ii. 10 was threatened as following the calamity announced by the prophet, is here placed in connection with the pouring out of the Spirit upon all flesh at the coming of the terrible day of Jehovah.

The usual rendering of *לפני בוא יום יהוה* suggests (compare Genesis xiii. 10, Deut. xxxiii. 1, 1 Samuel ix. 15, and the same words as here in Malachi iv. 5) that the dissolution of nature is to precede, and thus be distinguished from, the great day of Jehovah : and this is the express rendering of the LXX. But the word *לפני* is also frequently used in the sense of “in the presence of,” without reference to time. Literally the words here used mean “at the presence of the coming of the day of Jehovah.” Now we cannot conceive of the darkening of the sun as merely preceding this great and terrible day. It must be itself a visible announcement that the day has come. I therefore venture to suggest that Joel ii. 3 (Engl.) would be better translated “at the coming of the day of Jehovah.” The word *לפני* seems to me to note here merely coincidence of time. Had *מפני* stood, it would have suggested that the dissolution of nature was *caused by* the coming of the great day.

Similar language is found again in Joel iii. 14, 15, Engl. : “Multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of Decision : for near is the day of Jehovah in the valley of Decision. Sun and

moon have become dark, and stars have withdrawn their shining." The prophecy closes with an announcement of abiding blessing for Zion, and Jerusalem, and Judah ; and of desolation for their enemies.

The occurrence of the phrase "Day of Jehovah" five times in the short book of Joel gives to this phrase marked prominence. Evidently the prophet looked forward to a definite time of conspicuous punishment inflicted on the wicked, accompanied or followed by conspicuous blessing for the righteous.

The same phrase occurs three times in Amos v. 18-20, evidently describing a time when God will inflict punishment. "The day of Jehovah is darkness and not light."

In Isaiah ii. 11 we read, "The lofty looks of man shall be brought low, and the haughtiness of men shall be bowed down, and Jehovah alone shall be exalted in that day. For there shall be a day for Jehovah of hosts upon all that is proud and high, and upon all that is lifted up, and it shall be brought low. . . . And Jehovah alone shall be exalted in that day."

In Isaiah xiii. 6, in a prophecy of the destruction of Babylon, Joel i. 15 is repeated almost word for word: "Howl ye ; for near is the day of Jehovah, as destruction from the Almighty it will come." The prophet continues in verse 9 in language very similar to Joel ii. 1-11, "Behold the day of Jehovah cometh, cruel, with wrath and fierce anger ; to make the land a desolation, and to destroy its sinners out of it. For the stars of the heaven and their constellations shall not give their light ; the sun shall be darkened in its going forth, and the moon shall not cause its light to shine. And I will punish the world for evil, and wicked ones for their guilt."

Similar thought and language are found in Obadiah 15, in a denunciation of Edom: "For near is the Day of Jehovah upon all the heathen. According as thou hast

done, it shall be done to thee ; thy recompense shall return upon thy own head."

In Zephaniah i. 7-16, after announcing a great destruction for the idolaters in Judah and Jerusalem, the prophet continues : " Be silent in the presence of the Lord Jehovah ; for near is the day of Jehovah, for Jehovah hath prepared a sacrifice, He hath sanctified His guests. And it shall be, in the day of Jehovah's sacrifice, that I will punish the princes and the king's sons and all that are clothed with foreign clothing. . . . Near is the day of Jehovah, the great day, near and hasting greatly, the sound of the day of Jehovah. . . . That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of waste and desolation, a day of darkness and gloom, a day of cloud and thick darkness, a day of trumpet and alarm, against the fenced cities and against the high battlements."

Similarly, in Ezekiel xiii. 5 we read, " Ye have not gone up into the gaps, or made up a fence for the house of Israel in the day of Jehovah." Also chapter xxx. 3, " Howl ye, alas for the day ; for near is a day, and near is a day for Jehovah, a day of cloud, a time of nations it will be. And there shall come a sword against Egypt, and there shall be anguish in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt, and they shall take away her multitude and her foundations shall be overturned."

A marked feature of Zechariah xii.-xiv., some fifteen times, is the phrase " in that day," noting a definite time of retribution and blessing. This time is in Zechariah xiv. 1 referred to by the words " Behold a day comes for Jehovah . . . and I will gather all the nations against Jerusalem for war " ; recalling Isaiah ii. 12.

The Books of the Prophets conclude, in Malachi iv. 5 (English) with the words, " Behold I am sending to you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the day of Jehovah, the great and the terrible day " ; word for word as in Joel ii. 31.

In all these places, the day of Jehovah is a definite time of conspicuous execution of punishment against sin both in Israel and in the enemies of Israel. During long periods of forbearance, sinners seemed to have their day of high-handed rebellion. But the prophets foresaw that in His own time the unseen God would come forth from His hiding-place and vindicate the majesty of His forgotten authority. And this time, definite to their thought, they spoke of as Jehovah's day.

In many places in which the term "day of Jehovah" is not found, Old Testament prophecy culminates in complete victory of good over evil, manifesting itself in the punishment and downfall of sinners however mighty and in infinite blessing for the righteous. This latter is not unfrequently described in terms of loftiest grandeur. The deep faith in God thus revealed is a conspicuous difference between the Sacred Books of Israel and all contemporary literature.

Other prophetic teaching different from that quoted above both in phraseology and in modes of thought, yet in complete harmony with it, meets us in the Book of Daniel. The vision of Nebuchadnezzar in chapter ii. shows us a succession of empires culminating in, and overthrown by, one set up by God and never to be destroyed. In chapter vii., after a vision of four beasts successively rising from the sea, we read, in verse 13, "I saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of Heaven One like a son of man, and He came even to the Ancient of Days, and they brought Him near before Him. And to Him was given dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve Him: His dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and His kingdom one which shall not be destroyed." We have here a final victory of Heaven over Earth, and judgment executed (see verse 10: "judgment was set, and

the books were opened") by One from heaven in human form.

In Daniel xii. 1, after various political convulsions, in a time of unparalleled trouble but of deliverance for those written in the book of God, we have a vision of "Michael, the great prince which standeth for the sons of thy people." The writer continues, "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to eternal life, and some to shame and eternal contempt. And they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." This can be no other than a general resurrection of the dead, good and bad. And this vision of judgment and of glory forms the distant horizon of the prophet's furthest vision.

The Book of Daniel differs somewhat from the other prophetic books of the Old Testament in that it takes us more definitely within the veil to an entirely new order of things; in that the kingdom which is to supersede all earthly kingdoms is given to One, who, though from heaven, yet wears a human form; and in that it announces clearly a resurrection of the dead and a final retribution of reward and punishment beyond the grave. But all the prophetic writers of the Old Testament agree to announce a kingdom of infinite glory to be set up more or less suddenly by power from heaven on the ruins of all earthly kingdoms, from which all evil and all sinners shall be excluded, the eternal home of the faithful servants of God.

Such, in scanty outline, were the thoughts of ancient Israel, at the close of the Canon, touching the furthest future within their view.

Any one who turns from the Old Testament Prophets, *e.g.* Joel or Isaiah, to the Eschatology of the New Testament becomes at once conscious of an immense gulf

passed. This gulf, the Book of Daniel does something to span, or at least it affords a starting-point for the transition. But even between the Book of Daniel and the eschatological teaching of the New Testament is a wide interval of thought. We look eagerly for anything which will help us to bridge it. Especially we greet any document which will make vocal the centuries of silence between the Old Testament and the New. Such help we find in the Book of Enoch.

The following quotations are taken from the admirable edition of Mr. R. H. Charles, M.A., just published by the Clarendon Press. The best earlier translation is that of Dillmann, published in A.D. 1853. Indeed to this scholar more than to any other we owe our knowledge of the Book of Enoch. But the forty years which have elapsed since his edition was published, and especially the British expedition to Abyssinia in 1861-2, have greatly increased the critical apparatus for the text of Enoch; and have enabled Mr. Charles to give us, in English, a much more reliable version of this ancient work.

The following quotations are taken from chapters xxxvii.-lxxi., which together form an integral part of the work, probably its latest part, written as Mr. Charles thinks some hundred years before the public ministry of Christ; and which certainly contain its most developed and interesting eschatological teaching. The quotations are only samples of the teaching of the entire section.

In chapter xlv. 1-6 we read: "And there I saw One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool, and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man¹ and His face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that Son of Man, who He was, and whence He

¹ Compare Daniel vii. 13, quoted above.

was, and why He went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me, 'This is the Son of Man, who hath righteousness, with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen Him, and His lot before the Lord of Spirits hath surpassed everything in uprightness for ever. And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings and the mighty ones from their couches and the strong from their thrones, and will loosen the reins of the strong and grind to powder the teeth of the sinners. And He will put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms because they do not extol and praise Him, nor thankfully acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them. And He will put down the countenance of the strong, and shame will cover them, darkness will be their dwelling and worms their bed, and they will have no hope of rising from their beds because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

In chapter xlvii. 3, we read: "And in those days I saw the Head of Days when He had seated Himself on the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him, and His whole host which is in heaven above and around Him stood before Him."

Also very interesting is chapter xlviii. 2-6: "And at that hour that the Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, and His name before the Head of Days. And before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits. He will be a staff to the righteous on which they will support themselves and not fall, and He will be the light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart. All who dwell on earth will fall down and bow the knee before Him, and will bless and laud and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits." Lower down we read of the wicked, "they

have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed." The writer continues in chapter xlix. 2-4, "For He is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness, and unrighteousness will disappear as a shadow, and have no continuance, because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits, and His glory is for ever and ever, and His might unto all generations. And in Him dwells the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of Him who gives knowledge, and the spirit of understanding, and of might, and the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness. And He will judge the secret things, and no one will be able to utter a lying word before Him; for He is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits, according to His good pleasure."

In chapter li. 1-5 we have mention of a resurrection of body and soul followed by judgment. "And in those days will the earth also give back those who are treasured up within it, and Sheol also will give back that which it has received, and hell will give back that which it owes. And He will choose the righteous and holy from among them; for the day of their redemption has drawn nigh. And the Elect One will in those days sit on My throne, and all the secrets of wisdom will stream forth from the counsels of His mouth; for the Lord of Spirits hath given it to Him and hath glorified Him. And in those days will the mountains leap like rams and the hills will skip like lambs satisfied with milk, and they will all become angels in heaven. Their faces will be lighted up with joy because in those days the Elect One has appeared, and the earth will rejoice and the righteous will dwell upon it, and the elect will go to and fro upon it."

Again, in chapter lxii. 5-9 we read, "Pain will seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory. . . . For the Son of Man was hidden before Him and the Most High preserved Him in the presence of His might, and revealed Him to the elect."

. . . And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those that rule the earth will fall down on their faces before Him and worship, and set their hope upon that Son of Man, and will petition Him and supplicate for mercy at His hands."

In an earlier portion of the Book of Enoch, in chapters x. 6, 12, xix. 1, xxii. 4, 11, and in a fragment found only in the Greek we read of "the day of judgment" and "the great day of judgment," and the "day of their judgment," and "the great day of judgment and punishment and torture of the revilers for ever."

The chief value of the Book of Enoch is that it reveals the large place in the thought of the Jews in the century before Christ occupied by teaching found in the Old Testament only in a few passages in the Book of Daniel. In Daniel vii. 13 we see on the throne a person distinct from the Most High, and said to be "like a son of man." This we have also in the Book of Enoch. But the Judge is there frequently and definitely spoken of as "the Son of Man"; and we are told that, before the sun and stars were created, His name was named before the Lord of Spirits. We also read much more frequently and definitely than in the Old Testament of retribution beyond the grave in a day of universal judgment. Evidently, during the long and sad interval between the last of the Old Testament prophets and the rousing voice of the Baptist, the heart of Israel turned, amid surrounding gloom, to a life beyond the grave. And, while they did so, their hopes gathered round One whom they conceived as bearing a human form yet coming from heaven.

In my next paper we shall see how, a century probably after the latest part of the Book of Enoch was written, these hopes shaped themselves in the mind of an earnest Pharisee who had become a disciple of Jesus of Nazareth.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

*PHYSICAL AND HISTORICAL PROBABILITIES
RESPECTING THE AUTHORSHIP AND AUTHORITY OF THE MOSAIC BOOKS.*

V.—THE DISPERSION AND ABRAHAM.

THE narrative of the flood is followed by some religious and prophetic details, which, though valuable as the inauguration of a new portion of the divine programme with respect to man, do not so much concern our present purpose as the genealogical table of the affiliation and dispersion of men given in the tenth chapter. These "Toledoth" of the sons of Noah, being of the nature of a dry and condensed list of names, and not directly referring to the spiritual interests of humanity, are, of course, regarded as an "Elohistic" document, though in the only reference to God in the chapter He is designated by the name Jehovah. We need not, however, trouble ourselves with this distinction, as we shall find that this, like some other documents we have been studying, carries its date within itself.

The great historical value of this table is almost universally admitted, but it has met with somewhat unfair treatment at the hands of some historians and archæologists, apparently from the circumstance that their line of study has accustomed them to trace backward obscure trains of events, and to infer the classification of peoples from cranial and linguistic characters. They seem to forget that an annalist, who is writing of actual migrations occurring in his own time, is on different ground and must proceed in a different way. His statements are hence said by them to be "ethnographical rather than ethnological"; as if a document that can inform us that certain people of a certain known lineage actually went to a particular country and settled there, could be less scientific than the inferences which a later enquirer, entirely ignorant as to the actual

facts, could deduce from skulls and languages. Our old ethnologist seems to have foreseen this treatment, and takes care to tell us four times over that he treats of the descendants of Noah after their known genealogy, their languages, their countries, and the nations that proceeded from them. With him all this is a matter of certain contemporaneous history, not of inference. Nor does any later hand seem to have added to his work, for it is very limited in time, and takes no notice of the later migrations, intrusions and mixtures which we know to have occurred. Beginning with the three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham and Japheth—he takes them in reverse order, evidently because he cannot trace the progeny of Japheth so far as that of the others, and because his subsequent history is to deal mainly with the race of Shem. He knows of seven sons of Japheth as founders of tribes or nations, but he can trace only two of them to the second generation, and he can designate their habitation only by the vague term, the “Isles” (or the sea coasts) of the Gentiles,” meaning the northern shores of the Mediterranean.

The descendants of the four sons of Ham are better known to him. He traces them for three generations, mentions in some detail the early Empire of Nimrod, unless we regard this as a subsequent insertion by a so-called Jehovist writer; and gives some geographical details as to the natives of Palestine and Northern Africa.

The children of Shem he traces in some instances to the fourth generation, but disposes summarily of the different lines except that of Eber, preparatory to the more detailed account of the Hebrews in the special genealogy of Shem. Here then again we seem to have a dated document, probably by a Semitic writer, whose geographical standpoint may have been in or near Shinar, from which he believes the early migrations to have radiated, and his standpoint in time toward the close of the Nimrodic Empire, before the

early conquests of the Elamites, and before the movement of the family of Abraham from Mesopotamia. His latest note as to this is the two-fold division of the family of Eber¹ into Pelegites, who went northward and westward into Syria and Palestine, and Joktanites who went south to found the Semitic tribes of Arabia. His time of writing was after the founding of the first Babylonian and Assyrian nations, and before the date of the oldest inscriptions of Tel-loh and Mugheir. We may thus believe that his time, though perhaps a little later, is not very different from that of the "Jehovist" who gives us the description of Eden, and whose position in place and time we have already noticed.

It is to be noted that, like the so-called Jehovist who precedes and follows him, the writer of Genesis x. believes that the survivors of the Deluge and their immediate descendants were civilized men, capable of practising agriculture, of building cities and towns, and of migrating by sea as well as by land. We may also infer that he regards the primitive language of man in Shinar as that Turanian monosyllabic tongue spoken and written by the earliest Akkadians, while the Semitic and Aryan languages were later derivatives, though of very early origin. We may also fairly infer that, according to him, the primitive type of man was that of the early Chaldean, and that the diverse characters which we find so early in Asia and Africa had sprung of isolation, change of habits of life, and unmixed heredity. In these short statements we may sum up his philology and ethnology.

We may now inquire as to his facts respecting the primary dispersion of men, bearing in mind that his table of affiliation extends over only three generations, and cannot be held responsible for any subsequent movements or mixtures of nations. This limitation of his range removes many

¹ The name Peleg refers to this division of the land (Gen. x. 25).

difficulties which have been conjured up by continuing the record conjecturally into later times. It thus happens that even old writers, from Josephus to Bochart, by attending to the limit of time, could, in the main, understand his statements, though in modern times discoveries in Chaldea and Egypt have thrown very important light on some of the more difficult points.¹

From our author's point of view there are naturally three main branches, corresponding to the three sons of Noah; but these branches are not equal in magnitude or extension. In this the children of Ham take the lead, establishing the first empire and giving off three main streams of migration. Japhet comes next with two main lines of colonization; Shem, though spread east, west, and south, seems to move more slowly, and to follow in the wake of the Hamites, whom in many places he supplants.

Ham obviously represents that vast assemblage of people whom ethnologists have been in the habit of naming Turanian. The language of the early Akkadian empire of Chaldea was of Turanian type, and with this the features of the earliest rulers represented in the monuments correspond. The faces of these men, while somewhat triangular and sometimes with oblique eyes, strongly resemble those of the earlier Egyptians and the Punites of Southern Arabia as well as the Lapps, Chinese and Japanese. Our author does not tell us of their settlements in Northern and Western Europe, and in Northern and Eastern Asia, which may not have been peopled so early. He gives, however, some detail as to other lines of migration. One of these is to the south-west along the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, and thence to the Upper Nile. This was the line of the Cushites and their allies, and while the early settlements

¹ The excellent series of racial types from Egypt, prepared by Prof. Petrie for the British Association, is of great value, and also the figures found by De Sarzac at Tel-loh.

of Cush were in Chaldea the name ultimately became localized in Africa. A second branch, that of Mizraim, made its way to Lower Egypt, the Mavor or Misr of all subsequent history. A third stretched from the Persian Gulf and the Valley of the Euphrates to the Coast of the Mediterranean, and thence the Phoenicians or Canaanites took to the sea and "were scattered abroad," at the same time acquiring a language of Semitic type. We may remark here that the early monuments both of Chaldea and Egypt show that these primitive Hamites were not negroid, though some of them were dark, and classed by the Egyptians among the black races. If negro races are included in the record, they appear only as the descendants of Put or Phut, a name which may have referred to negro nations lying to the south of Egypt; but the majority of the Hamites were not black or with negroid features, and it is certain that at a very early period they became intermixed both with the Japhetic and Semitic tribes. Of the two lines of travel assigned to the sons of Japheth, one runs northward to the regions bordering the Black Sea and the Caspian, the other westward along the south coast of Europe, the coasts or isles of the Gentiles, constituting the Greek and allied races of the northern side of the Mediterranean.

For the family of Shem, we have at this early time no very extensive geographical distribution. Asshur represents the early Assyrians, who borrowed letters and many of the arts of life from the Chaldeans, whose empire they eventually subverted. Elam represents an early and formidable nation in the hill country of Western Persia. Aram, Arphaxad and Lud, occupied the Upper Euphrates and regions adjoining as far as Asia Minor, and portions of Palestine, mixing there with the Canaanites. Joktan went southward and mingled with the Hamites in Arabia.

It is evident that this affiliation of nations belongs to an early date, and extends over only a limited area of the old

continent, which constitutes the known world of the author. This world extends from the Euphratean Plain to Persia on the one hand, and Greece on the other, and from the Black Sea on the north to the Upper Nile on the south. It includes the world as known to the earliest Chaldeans and Egyptians, probably the whole peopled world of the time, unless in the case of roving tribes, who had moved beyond the ken of the more central communities. It is not too much to say that, regarded with this limitation, all modern research has vindicated its accuracy, and where it seems to be contradictory to ethnological facts this has been found to depend upon later intrusions and mixtures. It would require a volume with many pictorial illustrations to give the evidence in full of this statement; but this can be obtained in many commentaries and historical books. A summary of the main facts, though with some errors and omissions, will be found in Sayce's little work, *The Races of the Bible*.¹

I have already referred to the early date of this document, and the notes of an historical character interspersed, and which might be supposed to be later additions, all keep within the same time-limits. The writer never by any chance shows the least knowledge of the subsequent history of the peoples to whom he refers. It is scarcely possible to imagine a later writer persevering in such reticence. Even in the previous episode of the prediction in very general terms of the future destiny of the sons of Noah, this is given as a prophecy by the patriarch, not as historical fact; and the history as given in the tenth chapter shows no indication of its fulfilment, but rather the contrary, in the early dominance and expansion of the Hamites.

¹ Religious Tract Society. Bochart's *Phaleg* is still of great value, and Lenormant's *Manual of Early Oriental History and Beginnings of History* are useful. Eadie's *Early Oriental History* has a useful summary, also Delitzsch's *Commentary on Genesis*.

The prominence given to the early Cushite and Asshurite nations on the Euphrates and Tigris are also very characteristic of an early date. It now appears¹ that we may safely identify Nimrod with the Chaldean hero-hunter Gisdubar, a usurper who subverted, as far as the Cushites were concerned, the old patriarchal rule by a military despotism, and seems to have introduced a new priestly system in the form of Shamanism. This is, I think, the interpretation we should give to his alliance with his friend and adviser Heabani, who is represented pictorially as a man with the horns, feet and tail of a bull, and hence has been supposed to be altogether a mythical personage; but if we take this as intended for his official garb, he assumes the guise of an American medicine-man. It is quite likely that a similar explanation applies to many of the so-called demons and genii of Babylonian and Assyrian sculptures, and that the Chaldean magi were originally Shamans. If, in addition to all this, Merodach the later tutelary god of Babylon, is a deification of Nimrod,² we see that Moses had good reason to preserve and hand down to succeeding times the old story of the Nimrodic Empire.

We may note here that there is a remarkable absence from these documents of the race prejudices and hatreds which arose from later conflicts, except perhaps in the one instance of Noah's prophecy. All the great branches of humanity are alike to our annalist, except in so far as concerns the religious destiny of Shem, and that enlargement of Japheth which only modern times have seen fully realized. In this connection we must not forget that Moses was in a better position than we are to realize the actual facts of the dispersion of mankind. Independently of the Abrahamic documents to which he had access, we know that centuries

¹ Hommel, *Proceedings Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1893, pts. 1, 6, 7.

² Sayce has argued in favour of this in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xi.

before his time the geography and ethnology of the regions covered by Genesis x. were well known in Egypt. To this both the Egyptian monuments and the Tel-el-Amarna tablets testify. But, on the other hand, the Egyptians regarded themselves as distinct from and superior to the other races of men. This idea must have sunk deeply into the minds of the Hebrew slaves during the long reign of Rameses II., and they must have greatly needed the facts stated in the ninth and tenth chapters of Genesis to raise them to a conception of their equality with their lordly masters, who we know regarded themselves as little less than gods, and the Hebrews as well as the mixed multitude which we find allied with them, as altogether inferior races. There was no later phase in the history of Israel in which such ideas were so much needed. With their sequel in the story of the Exodus they were indeed promulgated in Genesis for all time, wherever there has been the tyranny of race over race, or slaves to be freed. They are echoed in the wild chant of the negroes at the time of the American Civil War:—

“ Oh go down, Moses,
Way down in Egypt's land,
Tell King Pharaoh
To let my people go.”

But their first and great occasion was the liberation of the Hebrews under Moses.

I do not propose here to take up the tempting philological problems of the Tower of Babel, but may remark that its significance also is Mosaic and Exodic. It teaches the primitive unity of man on his new departure after the flood, that dispersion and national differences are parts of the Divine plan, though direct results of human ambition and love of aggrandizement; and that the great cities and magnificent temple-towers, whether of Egypt or Babylon, are not necessarily connected with the Divine favour, but

may be monuments of an idolatry oppressive to man and hateful to God. Thus the catastrophe of Babel was distinctly in furtherance of the mission of Moses, which looked forward to a kingdom of God and restitution of all things, in which the edict of national dispersion would be revoked.

It would be interesting to know more of the fortunes of those early nations which migrated from Shinar, but our historian, bridging over the intervening space with a mere genealogical list, passes at once to a different sphere in time, the age of Abraham and his contemporaries. Great political changes had occurred in the meantime. The kingdom of Nimrod had been broken up into smaller states. The warlike people of the Elamite mountains, under their king, Kuder Nankundi, a predecessor of Kuder Lagamar, the Chedorlaomer of Abraham's time, had invaded the lowlands and reduced them to subjection, and had even pushed their conquests as far as the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. At one time the adventure of Abraham with the five kings from the East, recorded in Genesis xiv., being vouched for only by the Bible, was regarded as mythical; but now we have it confirmed by contemporary inscriptions as well as by the later records of the Assyrian kings, who invaded Elam and restored to Babylonia idols which had been captured by the Elamites ages before. Thus this fragment of ancient history is authenticated by modern discovery, and proves to have been a contemporary record, for no subsequent writer up to recent times was likely to have met with it. Nor is the insertion of this episode in the history of Abraham unnecessary or gratuitous. It points to the origin of the first movement of the family of Abraham from Ur, before he received his divine commission, and to that probably enforced division of the Semites from which Peleg got his name. It serves also to point out the embryo condition at that time of nations at a later date great and populous, to indicate the wide extent of their

movements, and to illustrate the character and position of the patriarch himself.

Tomkins, in his *Studies on the Times of Abraham*, has well illustrated many of these points; but some singular confirmations of the history have appeared since the publication of that work. One of the most curious of these is a letter of the king of Jerusalem, whose name has been read Ebed-tob, to King Amenophis IV. of Egypt, in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. This letter shows that Salem or Jerusalem was a very ancient city, that it had a temple of a god recognised as the Most High, that its ruler was a priest-king, supposed to be appointed by the oracle of the god himself. Ebed-tob must have lived nearly two hundred years after Abraham, but his letter fully confirms the notice of Melchizedek, king of Salem, in Genesis, and the much later inferences from it in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is on the other hand reason to believe that before the time of Moses, Salem had fallen into other hands, and that its people had lapsed from that purer faith with which Abraham had fraternised.¹ Here again we have reference to historical facts which had become obsolete even in the time of Moses, and certainly must but for him have fallen out of sight in later times.

An eminently Mosaic and most graphic picture in the life of Abraham is that of the overthrow of the Cities of the Plain. It stands forth in ancient literature as a unique description of a bitumen eruption, a kind of catastrophe to which the valley of the Lower Jordan, from its geological structure, was eminently subject, and of which we have an account that even now we could scarcely have understood, were it not for the destructive accidents of a similar kind, but on a smaller scale, which have occurred in the petroleum districts of North America. I have fully discussed this catastrophe in an article on the "Physical Causes of

¹ See the later notices in Joshua.

the Destruction of the Cities of the Plain," in this Journal.¹ Everything here is natural, even to the final encrusting of the remains of Lot's wife in the saline mud which accompanies eruptions of this kind. It bears evidence at once of the testimony of a contemporary, and of the careful diction of a man of scientific training, and it is not too much to say that the knowledge displayed in this episode exceeds anything that existed between the science of ancient Egypt and that of our own time.

But this, it may be said, was a miracle. True, but it was a miracle of the Mosaic type. It is a natural occurrence, but one rare and exceptional, and rendered miraculous by its association with divine justice and with moral and spiritual things. Had the great eruption of Krakatoa, or that of the hot springs of New Zealand in our own time, been predicted beforehand, and connected with the iniquities of men who were "sinners before Jehovah exceedingly," and had heavenly messengers been sent to deliver righteous people from these calamities, they would have been miraculous, precisely to the same extent in which the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah was miraculous.

Here we have another dated document belonging to the time of Abraham, if edited by Moses; and that it could not have belonged to more recent times is rendered evident by the myths, exaggerations and absurdities which have been heaped around it by later commentaries belonging to ages of comparative ignorance, and of which no trace can be found in the original record. It would be invidious as well as unnecessary to give references. Instances abound everywhere in ancient and modern literature.²

¹ January, 1886.

² I may say here that the tendency of writers on Scriptural subjects to show their research by gathering around Bible history fables of every kind which have been connected with it, is most hurtful to the interests of truth. The retailing of Arab and mediæval legends about Nimrod and the "Dead Sea," which one finds even in modern commentaries, are cases in point.

The moral lessons of this narrative, and the interest of Lot in it would insure its preservation among the records of Abraham, and it would commend itself to the lawgiver, who insisted so strenuously on the punishment of sin in this world. It was left for Christ to show that in the judgment to come greater guilt will attach to the rejection of His loving message of salvation, than to any iniquity chargeable against the wicked inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah.

We must reluctantly pass over the times of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph, which are replete with interesting proofs of the thesis of these papers, and must in the last of the series go on to the Exodus, in the account of which, if our hypothesis is correct, we shall find Moses writing of the events of his own time, and in which he himself played a great part.

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

NEW TESTAMENT NOTES.

(1) THE HOLY SPIRIT AS A DOVE.

IN the Gospel according to St. Luke iii. 21, 22 we read: "Now it came to pass, when all the people were baptized, that, Jesus also having been baptized, and praying, the heaven was opened, and the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily form, as a dove, upon Him, and a voice came out of heaven, Thou art my beloved Son; in Thee am I well pleased."

My remarks will bear upon the comparison of the Holy Spirit to a dove. The words of St. Luke are: ἐγένετο . . . καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον σωματικῶς εἶδει ὡς περιστέραν ἐπ' αὐτόν. The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark omit σωματικῶς εἶδει, e.g. St. Matthew says: εἶδεν (Ἰησοῦς) τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστέραν ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτόν. St. Mark says: εἶδεν (Ἰησοῦς) τὸ πνεῦμα ὡς περιστέραν καταβαῖνον εἰς αὐτόν.

No one I think will deny that the plain sense of St. Luke's narrative is that the Holy Spirit took bodily form, and appeared outwardly and objectively as a dove, and this not to the eye of Jesus only, but also, it would seem, of the people assembled. St. Luke thus affords a norm by which to interpret the parallel passages in Matthew and Luke. And so in the Speaker's Bible the commentator on Matthew iii. 16 has the following note:—

"Like a dove, i.e. in bodily shape like a dove (Luke iii. 22). This seems to be the natural meaning of the passage, and nothing is gained by attempting any less literal interpretation. The whole narrative implies . . . that a visible form, like the cloven tongues as of fire on the day of Pentecost, appeared as the token and evidence of the Holy Spirit's descent. Thus much being granted, it is more natural to suppose that the actual appearance seen was that of a dove."

The above may be called the literalist view, viz., that the Holy Spirit took the actual shape and appearance to the eye of a dove, and in that form alighted upon Jesus. This is what St. Luke would have his readers believe, and what, according to the Speaker's Bible, the Evangelists Matthew and Mark meant also, though they are less explicit.

I will now pass on to another school of commentators, namely, those who interpret the passages literally and non-literally—both at once. As an example of this school I will take Canon Farrar, for I consider that the great popularity of his *Life of Christ* proves that his interpretation is that which specially approves itself to English-speaking people. The following then is Canon Farrar's treatment of the incident (*Life of Christ*, ch. viii. *sub finem*):—

"So Jesus descended into the waters of Jordan, and there the awful sign was given that this was indeed 'He that should come.' From the cloven heaven streamed the Spirit of God in a dove-like radiance that seemed to hover over his head in lambent flame, and the Bath kôl, which to the dull, unpurged ear was but an inarticulate thunder, spake in the voice of God to the ears of John—'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'"

Farrar adds the following note :—

"We need not necessarily suppose an actual dove, as is clear from John i. 32; the expression in three Gospels is *ὡσεὶ περιστερὰν*, though St. Luke adds *σωματικῶς εἶδει*. Cp. Targum, Cant. ii. 12, "Vox Turturis vox spiritus sancti"; and 2 Esdras v. 26; 1 Mac. i. 2; and Milton's "with mighty wings outspread, dove-like, sat'st brooding on the vast abyss" (*Par. Lost*, 1, 20). In the tract *Chagigah* we find, "The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters like a dove" (Gen. i. 2).

Let us analyse the above account phrase by phrase.

(a) "From the cloven heaven." This is from St. Mark: *σχιζομένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*. So far Canon Farrar follows the canonical gospel.

(β) "Streamed." Martial, *Epig.* 8, 32, may have suggested this phrase to a mind so scholarly as Canon Farrar's:—

"Aera per Tacitum delapsa sedentis in ipos
Fluxit Aratullae blanda columba sinus."

(γ) "Dove-like radiance?" Here we ask :

(i.) Why radiance at all?

(ii.) How does a *dove-like* radiance differ from any other radiance?

In a footnote on "Bath kôl," Canon Farrar hints at the reason of (i.). "The Apocryphal Gospels," he writes, "add that a fire was kindled in Jordan (J. Martyr c. Tryph., 88)." This is partly true; for in Justin M. c. Tr. 315 D we read: "*κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ*"; and the context hints that this is what *ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. *Carmen Sibyl.*, vii. 82, conveys the same idea in somewhat obscure language: *ὥς σε λόγον γέννησε πατήρ, πατέρ, ὄρνιν ἀφῆκα ὄξυν ἀπαγγελτῆρα λόγων, λογε, ὕδασιν ἀγνοῖς ραίνων σὸν βάπτισμα, δι' οὗ πυρὸς ἐξεφαάνθης*. In the Gospel of the Ebionites, called the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew (*Epirh. Haer.* 30 c. 13) we have the idea repeated: *ὥς ἀνηλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡνοίγησαν κ.τ.λ. καὶ εὐθὺς περιέλαμψε τὸν τόπον φῶς μέγα*.

We thus see that Farrar accepts the account of the "Apocryphal" Gospel as no less credible than, and indeed as supplementing that of the canonical N. T., and as such embodies it in his narrative.

(ii.) I now turn to the epithet "*dove-like*." "We need not necessarily suppose an *actual* dove," says Farrar, and appeals to St. John i. 32, a text which merely runs *καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰωάννης λέγων· ὅτι τεθέαμαι, τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὡς περιστερὰν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν*. The phrase "*dove-like radiance*" is thus Farrar's alternative to the necessity of supposing an actual dove. Perhaps others will grasp the meaning of this phrase better than I can. To me it seems that Canon Farrar merely tries to describe in rhetorical words what he has seen in certain stained-glass windows, though even in them the dove is clearly portrayed. His alternative, therefore, is no real alternative at all, but only the well-turned phrase of a writer who has not the courage either to suppose with the author of the Commentary in the Speaker's Bible "an actual dove, or appearance of a dove," or to interpret the reference to a dove as merely metaphorical.

We have seen that Matthew, Mark and John use the phrase, "*descending like a dove from heaven*." Luke binds us down to an actual dove: "*descended in a bodily form like a dove*." Justin Martyr asserts that "the apostles of this very Christ" wrote that as Jesus came up from the water *ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτήναι ἐπ' αὐτόν*; and he clinches the actuality of the dove's appearance in his next sentence: "*τοῦ ἐπελθόντος ἐν εἶδει περιστεράς πνεύματος*." In *Ephraïmus Haer.* i. 13 we read that in the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew used by the Ebionites it was written as follows: *καὶ ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἡνούγησαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ, καὶ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἅγιον ἐν εἶδει περιστεράς κατελθούσης καὶ εἰσελθούσης εἰς αὐτόν*.

We see that the Gospels and the other early accounts we

have quoted of the baptism of Jesus admit of being graded according to the degree in which they objectify the dove. In Matthew and Mark it is only Jesus who "saw" the Holy Spirit descend as it were a dove. In them too it is the Spirit, not the dove, which descends (κατάβαινον εἰς αὐτὸν and ἐρχόμενον ἐπ' αὐτὸν). In St. John it is still the Spirit which descends, but now it "rested upon Jesus" (ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν); moreover John the Baptist saw it and recognised in it the sign that Jesus was He that should come. In Matthew and Mark it is apparently a subjective vision of Jesus' alone. In Luke, on the other hand, the people also may have seen it descend in bodily form and shape as a dove, for that is what σωματικῶ εἶδει means. Justin, by his use of ἐπιπτῆναι, commits us to a very objectivist view of the matter, for it is the word by which the alighting of a bird is expressed. He also uses the phrase ἐν εἶδει περιστεράς. According to the Hebrew Matthew it is the dove itself rather than the Holy Spirit which seems to descend and enter *into* Jesus. The Jewish Sibyl is of all the accounts the most boldly materialistic. "I despatched a bird (not specifically a dove) the swift messenger of my words." Presumably the words meant are: "This is my beloved Son," etc.

Thus the supposition of an actual bird entertained by St. Luke is supported by the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, by the Apostolic writ, as far as we can glean it from Justin, and, most expressly of all, by the Sibylline poem, which must embody a very early tradition of the event.

I shall now prove that even before the baptism of Jesus could have taken place, and certainly long before the earliest evangelic tradition was committed to writing, the regular symbolic equivalent of the Holy Ghost in the allegorising theology of the Hellenistic Jews was the dove.

The work of Philo, *Quis rerum divinarum hæres*, can hardly have been composed later than the year 30 A.D.

There, in Mangey, Ed. i. p. 490, Philo comments thus *ὡς* the text, Genesis xv. 9 :—

“‘Take me a turtle-dove and a young pigeon.’ The turtle-dove and the pigeon,” he says, “are respectively the divine and human wisdom (*σοφία*) both of which are winged and practised in leaping upwards (*πτηνὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἀναπηδᾶν μεμελετηκίας*), but different from one another as the species is different from the genus, or the copy from the archetype. For the divine wisdom is fond of the desert (*φιλέρημος*) on account of the only God, whose possession it is, loving solitude. It is symbolically called a turtle-dove (*συμβολικῶς αὕτη*, i.e. *ἡ θεία σοφία, τρυγὼν καλεῖται*), but the other kind is tame and domesticated and gregarious, haunting the cities of men and pleased to dwell with mortals. This they liken to a pigeon.”

A few lines further on we read :—

“*τῆς μὲν οὖν θείας ἐπιστήμης, ὄρνιθος τρόπον, τὸ αἰεὶ μετεωροπολεῖν ἴδιον*, it is the property of the divine knowledge ever to roam aloft, after the manner of a bird.”

Here Philo, by his use of the expressions *συμβολικῶς καλεῖται* and *ἀπεικάζουσι*, shows that he is referring, not merely to his own, but to a recognised system of symbolical theology, which was already in vogue. He recurs to the idea in the same treatise, p. 506 :

“There are two natures or principles of intelligence and reason, the one in man, the other in the universe, and both are indivisible wholes, wherefore it is said, ‘but the birds He did not divide.’ Now our reason [or *nous*] is likened to a pigeon, because that animal is tame and feeds with us, but the turtle-dove is likened to the pattern of this. For the ‘Word’ of God is fond of the desert and solitary (*ὁ γὰρ θεοῦ λόγος φιλέρημος καὶ μονωτικός*), not mixing with the throng of things which come to be and pass away, but accustomed to roam and soar aloft (*ἀνωφοιτᾶν*) and trained to be the attendant and companion of one alone (*ἐνὶ ὁπαδός*). These two natures, therefore, cannot be parted—I mean that of reason [*λογισμός*] in us and of the divine Word [*λόγος*] above us. Being, however, themselves not to be sundered, they yet sunder a myriad other things (*ἅτμητοι δὲ οὖσαι μυρία ἄλλα τέμνουσιν*, cp. Heb. iv. 12). For the divine Word [*λόγος*] divided and distributed all the things in nature, and our reason [*νοῦς*] unceasingly divides into infinitely numerous parts whatsoever things and bodies it rationally apprehends. And this is so because of its resemblance to the Creator and Father of the whole.”

In Philo's Armenian commentary upon Genesis ; iii. 3, p. 174, we have a couple of very similar passages, the last of which I quote in the Latin of Aucher :—

“Rationis vero duplex est species: una ex natura, qua res persolvuntur sensibilis mundi; altera autem earum, quae incorporales species appellantur, quibus sane persolvuntur res mundi intelligibilis; his ergo similes comperiuntur columba et turtur. Columba nimirum physicae theoriae, avis est enim magis familiaris, ut sensibilia nimis familiaria visui sunt: et physiologi anima sursum volat tanquam alis armata, atque superius elata circumfertur coelum, cernens cunctorum partes singulorumque rationes. Turtur autem imitatur intelligibilem, et incorpoream speciem; nam quemadmodum istud animal solitudinis est studiosum, sic praeterit et superascendit sensuum species, cum invisibili uniens sese per ipsam essentiam.” Cp. S. Ambros. Lib. ii. de Abr. c. viii. n. 56.

The same symbolism is to be found in the *Catena* of Nikephorus, p. 150, h.; there an anonymous commentator is quoted in illustration of the sending forth from the ark of the crow and the dove.

“These birds are the symbols of vice and virtue. Vice, on the one hand, delights in, and gambols over the billowy sea of the passions, whereas virtue leaps away therefrom—ἀποπηδά. Thus they symbolise the two peoples: the Jews on the one hand, and the six races on the other. The former, because they remained outside the pale of grace; the latter, because they hastened into the Church of Christ. And the dove is also the symbol of the Holy Spirit, for that the deluge of sin was taken away in Christ.”

Except for the definitely Christian allusion the Greek of the above is from Philo's *Quæst. in Genesin.*, ii. 38, preserved in Armenian. It may be remarked how nearly the terms of the Sibylline poem recall the picture in Genesis of the sending forth of the dove. In the catacombs, it will be remembered, the dove, with the branch of olive in its mouth, often recurs, as an emblem, perhaps of peace, but more probably of the Holy Spirit.

We cannot really understand a book written down long ago unless we are able to breathe ever so little the intellectual atmosphere of those who wrote it and of those for

whom it was written ; unless we can, so to speak, put ourselves on the same plane of thought which they occupied. I hope that the citations which I have brought together in my paper, all bearing on the one point, may assist towards such an end. I think they prove that the identification in the Gospels of the Holy Spirit with a dove grew out of the symbolism which was in vogue among the Hellenised Jews at the very beginning of the first century. What was originally a mere metaphor, the Evangelists took quite literally. Even if we had only the narratives of Matthew and Mark and John, we could scarcely avoid the supposition that the Holy Spirit was believed to have assumed the actual form of a dove. We would anyhow have had to admit that the Holy Spirit was believed to have had a material and corporeal form of some kind, and in virtue of that form to have slid earthwards from the heavens as they were parted to let it go forth. Even so much as that may perplex devout minds, which would rather think of the Holy Spirit as an unseen, immaterial and purely spiritual agency. But the narrative of Luke leaves us no escape from the alternative which the Speaker's commentator boldly accepts ; and Luke is confirmed, if confirmation be needed, by Justin Martyr, by the Hebrew Gospel, yet more by the Jewish Sibyl, who also turns the narrative in such a manner as to remind us irresistibly of the beautiful story in Genesis of the sending forth of the dove from the ark. In the four Evangelists we therefore have to do with writers who, not deliberately of course, yet none the less certainly, interpreted a metaphor as an historical fact, and they were on that mental plane, or level, upon which it is possible for such a confusion to arise between the mere symbol on the one hand, and the thing symbolised on the other.

(2) THE SEAMLESS COAT.

In regard to St. John xix. 23, it is impossible to feel

the same assurance as about my last point, and I only give my remarks upon it by way of suggestion. In St. John xix. 23, we read that the soldiers, when they had crucified Jesus, took His garments and made four parts, to every soldier a part; and also the coat. *Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.* They said therefore one to another, "Let us not rend it, but cast lots for it, whose it shall be: that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, they parted My garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots." The synoptic Gospels simply relate that the soldiers parted His garments among them, casting lots. Now we know that the recognition of Jesus as the Logos or Word of God is a special feature of the Fourth Gospel, and I venture to suggest that we have in this fact the reason of the mention therein of the seamless coat. For it can be proved that it was a recognised element in the pre-Christian doctrine of the Logos or Word of God, that He should wear a seamless coat or tunic. So much can be proved from the *Liber de Profugis*, of all the writings of Philo the most distinctly anticipatory of subsequent Christian doctrine. In chapter xx. of this treatise, vol. i., p. 562 of Mangey, we read as follows:—

"The true High Priest is not a man, but the Divine Word, free from all stain of sin, not voluntary only, but involuntary as well. For Moses—Lev. xxi. 11—declares that He cannot be defiled in respect either of His father who is reason, or of His mother who is sense. Moses thus speaks, I think, because the Word hath parents immortal and most pure, His Father being God, who is also the Father of all, and His mother being Wisdom, by whom the whole universe came into being. And because "He hath been anointed on the head with oil," which means that the leading part of Him (*τὸ ἡγεμονικώτατον*) is haloed around with radiant light. Thus He is deemed worthy to be clad with the raiment. Now the most ancient Word of the living God is clad with the world—Kosmos—as with raiment, and putteth on as His vestiture water and air and fire, and all that is wrought of these. Just as the individual soul is arrayed with the body, or the mind of the wise man with wisdom. And because from His head "He shall never put off the mitre," that is, He shall never doff the kingly diadem, the symbol of a

rule and authority which is not indeed supreme, but still wonderful, for all that it is disputed. "*Nor again shall He rend His garment,*" for the Word of God is, as hath been said, the bond of all things, and holds and welds together all the parts, and prevents them from being dissolved or sundered. Just as the individual soul, so far as it hath the power allotted unto it, suffers no one of the parts of the body to be sundered and cut off in violation of nature, but so far as it can, bringeth all intact into harmony and unity one with another; and just as the purged reason—*νοῦς*—of the wise man preserves the virtues unbroken and unimpaired, rivetting their natural kinship and communion in yet surer goodwill."

Other passages occur in Philo of similar tendency. I would venture to suggest that they give a clue to the introduction in the Fourth Gospel of the seamless tunic of Jesus, the Logos of God. The seamless raiment was, to begin with, the indissoluble unity of the world, which came into being in and through the Word. In John xix. 23, what was in Philo's age a metaphysical truth or proposition has been transformed into a narrative of a supposed historical event.

(3) THE KISS OF PEACE.

The Kiss of Peace. Was it a practice of the Jewish Synagogue? In St. Paul's Epistles we have exhortations to a "holy kiss" and a "kiss of love," *e.g.* in Rom. xvi. 16, *ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ*. So 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 26, 1 Pet. v. 14, *ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης*.

In the early liturgies it was called the kiss of peace, or simply "peace"—*εἰρήνη*, hence *εἰρήνην διδόναι*. As such it was specially given in the celebration of the Eucharist. Wherefore Chrysostom calls it *φρικωδέστατος ἀσπασμός*, which *συμπλέκει τὰς διανοίας ἡμῖν καὶ ποιεῖ σῶμα ἓν γενέσθαι ἅπαντας, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐνὸς σώματος μετέχομεν οἱ πάντες* (Hom. in prod. lud.), and *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἀσπαζόμεθα ἀλλήλους, ἵνα οἱ πολλοὶ γενώμεθα ἓν*. Cyrill. Hieros. calls it *ἡ ἐμπύρευμα τῆς ἀγαπῆς, ἵνα ἀνακαίῃ τὴν διάθεσιν, ἵνα οὕτως ἀλλήλους φιλῶμεν ὡς ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφούς, ὡς παῖδες*

πατέρας. Clem. Alex., Paedag. III. c. xi., calls the Eucharistic kiss *φίλημα μυστικόν*. Maximus in Mystag. c. xvii. πνευματικὸς ἀσπασμός.

Neither in Kraus, Real-Encyklopädie, from whom I draw the above citations, nor in Wace's Dictionary is there any attempt to trace the Kiss of Peace to the practice of the Jewish Synagogue. These authorities leave it to be inferred that it was a purely Christian institution.

Kraus, indeed, refers to Genesis xxxiii. 4, 2 Kings xiv. 33 (?), Job xxxi. 27, but none of these passages seem really to bear on the question of the kiss as a part of early Christian ritual, or to carry it back to pre-Christian ages.

In Kraus' Encyclopædia reference is also made to the ceremonial kiss of Roman law, the *ius osculi* among the cognati, who might not intermarry.

In Philo's *Quæstiones in Exodum*, preserved in Armenian, there occur, at least, two passages which seem to imply that the *φίλημα ἀγαπῆς* or *ὁμονοίας* was a formal institution of the Jewish Synagogue. The first is in *Quæstiones in Exodum*, Sermo ii., § 78:—

“Quare lucernæ candelabri septem? Cunctis notum est septem lucernas symbola esse planetarum, secundum septenarium numerum divinum et sacrum connumeratarum quarum quæ per zodiacum motio est et circumlatio, omnibus iis quæ sublunaria sunt causa est, iis quæ consuevere in osculo concordantiæ esse, scilicet in ære, in aquis et in terra et in omnibus temperamentis animalium semper plantarumque.”

The sense of the Armenian is a little obscure, and as Aucher's Latin version is not quite satisfactory, I have given my own.

It is clear, however, that all creation is viewed in this passage as united in a *φίλημα ὁμονοίας*.

In the *Quæstiones in Exod.*, Sermo ii., § 118, Philo again speaks of the Word of God, the Mediator, as the solidest and surest bond of all, binding together, and cementing in one whole, all parts and contrarieties of the universe.

These, which from their nature are alien and hostile to each other, the Word constrains and brings together into concord, communion, and into the *kiss of love* (φίλημα ἀγάπης).

The use of such a metaphor points, I think, to such a formal and ceremonial use of the kiss as we have recorded in St. Paul's Epistles, and such as there was in the early ritual of the Christian Church.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

DR. ROBERTSON SMITH AT CAMBRIDGE.

It is difficult perhaps for any except a few of his most intimate friends to measure the full extent of the loss which all who knew him have suffered by the death of Professor Robertson Smith. It resulted from that extraordinary versatility of powers and variety of interests which distinguished him, perhaps more even than the vast range of his knowledge, that he showed himself in different lights to different men. And so it may be hard for some of his older friends in Scotland to appreciate the ties by which he became bound to his new home in the south. But I think that every one who saw him amid the Cambridge surroundings of his later years must have felt how congenial those surroundings were, and how thoroughly happy was his Cambridge life.

Professor Smith's settlement in Cambridge was largely due to his association with leading Cambridge scholars on the O. T. Revision Committee. From this association resulted that close friendship with Professors Wright and Bensly, and Mr. Aldis Wright, which had the singularly happy effect of making him their colleague in the oriental school at Cambridge. In 1882 the Lord Almoner's Professorship of Arabic became vacant through the death of Professor Palmer, who had held it since 1871. The loss of that great and original scholar must have produced a feeling

that a strong man was required to supply his place. Eighteen months had by this time elapsed since the decision of the Free Church Assembly, by which Robertson Smith ceased to be Professor at Aberdeen; and so, I believe on the suggestion of Professor Wright, he was invited to become a candidate for the vacant chair. He was appointed in February, 1883, by the Lord Almoner (Lord Alwyne Compton, now Bishop of Ely), with whom the patronage rests. Trinity College soon afterwards received him as a resident member of their body, and from the spring of 1883 and onwards his home was at Cambridge. It was a high compliment that one who was a total stranger should be called to this high office within the University; it must have been specially grateful to him after the weariness of the long conflict through which he had passed; and the next ten years abundantly showed how wise had been the choice, and what a loyal son the University had gained.

In the Easter term of 1883 the new Professor inaugurated his tenure of the chair by a course of three lectures on "The Early Relations of Arabia with Syria, and particularly with Palestine," and each Easter term till 1886 he delivered a similar historical course. In 1884 he lectured on the "History of Palmyra," following up the lectures with an exposition of the Palmyrene dialect and inscriptions; in 1885 his subject was "Marriage and Kinship in Ancient Arabia," and in 1886 "The Theory of Sacrifice illustrated by a Comparison of Semitic and Greek Ritual." During the intervening Michaelmas and Lent terms he read Arabic authors with his pupils. This work was largely in excess of that required by the conditions of his chair, which provided merely for the delivery of "at least one public lecture yearly within the University on a subject connected with Arabic or Arabic history or literature." The stipend was small, but the post was honorific.

In 1883, as I have mentioned, he was received as a

member of Trinity, and he spent there eighteen months, during which he made many friends. In the beginning of 1885 he was called to yet closer relations with another College. Christ's—the College of Milton, Cudworth, Henry More, Paley, and Darwin—elected him to a Fellowship on January 17th, 1885. In this act, most honourable to themselves and to him, the Master and Fellows were maintaining a certain tradition of liberality in advancing studies other than mathematical and classical, which has long flourished in this College. Smith at once moved into rooms at Christ's—the same, it is said, which had once been the home of Henry More. It is with those spacious rooms, overlooking the College garden, which he occupied for the last nine years of his life, that many of his friends will most like to associate his memory. It was no ordinary gain that the College made in securing him as a Fellow. One of his most marked characteristics was a splendid loyalty to his friends; and he looked upon his election in the light of an act of friendship on the part of the whole society. Entering the College in this spirit, he may be said to have identified himself with every interest that any member of it represented. He was a never-failing source of advice, help, and encouragement to any one who sought it. At College meetings, and in ordinary conversation, he was always eager to give an opinion on any point under discussion: in his rapid manner he would at once express sharp dissent from any view that seemed to him wrong; but however he might differ in opinion, he was the same loyal, sympathetic friend to each. And one of the things that will most linger in the memories of those who saw him in his last illness is the thought of how, even though he might be suffering great pain, he seemed quite to forget himself and his suffering in his eagerness to hear about the concerns of his visitor, still ready as of old to help him with advice or suggestion.

Among the friends he had gained at Cambridge was Henry Bradshaw, who held the post of University Librarian from 1867 to his death in 1886, and who won abiding fame by his vast knowledge of historical documents and books. United by common tastes, he and Smith spent more than one vacation together in foreign travel. The Librarianship at Cambridge is justly regarded as one of the most important University offices, and as demanding the services of an accomplished scholar; and when Bradshaw died, in February, 1886, the eyes of many were soon turned to Robertson Smith, and it was felt that he, who was almost without equal among living men for the range of his knowledge, had the best possible qualifications for the post. His own College and his friends throughout the University eagerly supported him, and he was elected librarian on February 24th, 1886, by a very large majority of the Senate, 424 members voting. This election by the whole graduate body, but three years after he came as a stranger to Cambridge, was new evidence of the extraordinary impression he had made on all in the University with whom he came into contact. His successor in the Lord Almoner's Professorship was Ion Keith-Falconer.

For three years and a half he continued librarian, and employed to the best advantage his amazing knowledge of books. On the library syndicate his business talents, and his faculty of bringing questions to a rapid decision, proved of the greatest service. Within the library, while he occasionally showed impatience of its use for any purpose but that of real study, there are many who can tell of his ungrudging help in finding the materials which they wished, and that at no small sacrifice of the librarian's time. One thing is much to be regretted—the effect upon his health of confinement within the close atmosphere of the library. It seemed to him, no doubt, that as he was constantly walking about inside, he thus secured a large amount of physical

exercise which absolved him from the need of further walking outside ; but it is to be feared that the want of fresh air and sunlight through the greater part of the day may have fostered the growth of the disease by which he was ere long prostrated.

During these years his most intimate friend in Cambridge was William Wright, the Adams Professor of Arabic, who had long enjoyed European reputation as among the very first of Semitic scholars. As colleagues in the Arabic Professorships, and serving together on the board of oriental studies, they had many opportunities of co-operating in the work they both had at heart—the promotion of sound Semitic learning at Cambridge and in England. In 1887 Wright finished his monumental article on “ Syriac Literature ” for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—an exhaustive account of all known Syriac literature, published and unpublished. By the end of the next year his health had entirely broken down, and in May, 1889, Cambridge lost by his death one of the most finished scholars, most successful teachers, and most attractive men she has ever possessed. Two men likeminded with him were left behind to carry on the work of the Semitic school—Bensly and Robertson Smith ; and already we have lost them both.

It was Smith's first thought and wish that Bensly should succeed to the vacant chair ; but the latter, with characteristic humility, declined to stand ; and the electors at their meeting on June 24, 1889, appointed Smith. All who knew his skill in teaching were glad to see him once more a Professor. Unhappily he was even then in weakened health ; he never recovered full vigour after the long strain of the librarianship. One winter, 1891–2, he was compelled to spend in Egypt seeking health ; with that exception he lectured every term from October, 1889, till the close of 1893, though for the last four terms he had to lecture from his couch, and there were occasional days

when pain and weakness made the effort impossible. The reading included such works as the *Travels of Ibn Jubair*, Ibn Hishâm's Life of Mohammed, the *Mo'allakas* of 'Amr and Al-Hârith, selections from the *Aghânî*, and the poems included in Nöldeke's *Delectus Carminum Arabicorum*. In the last term of 1893 he entered with much zest on Baidâwî's *Commentary on the Koran*, a work whose difficulty gave full play to his skill as an exponent. He looked forward eagerly to continuing this reading in the Lent and Easter terms of the present year; but alas! it was not to be.

Of the last sad weeks there is no need to speak, except to record that his mental activity was kept up almost to the end. On days when he had scarcely strength to speak, he would show from time to time that he had been following out some important train of thought. It seemed as if the bodily weakness had hardly impaired the mental power. Of his brave endurance, of the gentle thoughtfulness for others, which seemed even to increase as he grew weaker, of his gratefulness for any little service, many of his friends could speak. He died as the sun rose on the last day of March.

Of Robertson Smith's work as a Semitic scholar during the eleven years at Cambridge no detailed account can here be given; as readers of his *Kinship* and his *Burnett Lectures* know, it was in the main highly specialised work along scientific lines. When he came to Cambridge he had been for some considerable time sole editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and had written the articles by which he is perhaps best known to the public, such as "Bible" and "Hebrew Literature"; but some of his most valuable contributions appeared after his removal to the South, in such articles as "Prophet," "Psalms," "Sacrifice," etc. The first of these might be singled out as a masterpiece of insight into the historical development of Old Testament religion.

It combines, as did all his work from first to last, a careful appreciation of all the elements of religion common to the different Semitic peoples with a view of the history of Israel which does full justice to the distinctive features, moral and intellectual, that belonged to the religion of Jehovah. Another characteristic of the article is its masterly working out of the idea of a progressive revelation, in which the way was gradually prepared for the entering of the fuller light of Christianity.

It was however his study of religious *usages* among the ancient Semitic peoples that constituted his main achievement at Cambridge. It is easy to see how he was led to this, in pursuance of the great aim of his life—to restore the Old Testament to its proper historic setting, and interpret the Hebrew writings in their original sense, according to the intentions of the ancient authors. He wrote in the preface to his *Burnett Lectures* (1889):—"In Scotland, at least, no words need be wasted to prove that a right understanding of the religion of the Old Testament is the only way to a right understanding of the Christian faith; but it is not so fully recognised, except in the circle of professed scholars, that the doctrines and ordinances of the Old Testament cannot be thoroughly comprehended until they are put into comparison with the religions of the nations akin to the Israelites."

The first fruit of these investigations was his book on *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), in which he maintained, and enforced by much evidence from the Semitic field, the view of his friend J. F. McLennan, that female kinship extensively prevailed in early times, and preceded the patriarchal system. This was a subject on which Smith had been at work for many years; and the conclusions at which he arrived, as regards the history of kinship, have received the general assent of Semitic scholars throughout Europe. His method was to

start with the *tribal* groups of historical times, and by a careful examination of tradition to work back to the more primitive *kindred* groups, in which actual blood-relationship constituted the bond. He found that the old traditions, while they largely recognised the patriarchal system with kinship through the father as the normal state of society, yet pointed back by many indications to a time in which polyandry prevailed, and kinship was reckoned through the mother. The last step, by which he arrived at the theory of belief in kinship with an animal totem as underlying the notion of blood-kinship, has not commanded so general assent. There is abundant evidence of the prevalence of totemism in different parts of the world (collected, for instance, by J. G. Frazer in his little book on *Totemism*, and in his longer work *The Golden Bough*); but there is still much doubt as to how far this principle is to be applied within the history of the Semitic races.

In June, 1886, he had lectured at Cambridge on "The Theory of Sacrifice, illustrated by a Comparison of Semitic and Greek Ritual"; and the result of the studies on which these lectures were based is seen in the most important of all his published works—the first course of Burnett Lectures, or the *Fundamental Institutions of Semitic Religion*. He had been invited in April, 1887, to deliver three courses of lectures in Aberdeen, on "The Primitive Religions of the Semitic Peoples viewed in relation to other Ancient Religions and to the Spiritual Religion of the Old Testament and of Christianity." The first course, on *Fundamental Institutions*, was delivered in 1888, and published in 1889. The state of his health prevented his giving more than three lectures in the second course, and these he was unable to work out for publication. The third course was never delivered; but the published work is an enduring monument of learning and research on a subject to which he was almost the first to devote scientific treatment. The titles of the lectures show the

range of the work ; the main themes are " the nature of the religious community and the relation of the gods to their worshippers,"—" holy places,"—" first-fruits, tithes and sacrificial meals,"—" animal sacrifice, its original significance and its sacramental efficacy." The discussion and its results are of the greatest importance in their bearing on Biblical study. The evidence is mainly drawn from the literature of the Semitic races ; but analogies are quoted from Greek and Roman usage, with appeals to ancient writers as to whom even the most learned reader may be excused if he confesses ignorance. In fact, one does not know whether to admire the author more for his enormous learning, or for his power of marshalling and expounding. The work is characterised in places by a boldness of inference which some may think undue ; but, in considering the general results, it must always be remembered that the book is but *part* of a larger plan, and the part which deals with the beginnings of Semitic religions and with their common elements ; the more distinctive and developed features of the religion of Israel were to be treated in the later courses.

In 1892 he published a second and enlarged edition of those lectures on the *Old Testament in the Jewish Church* which had drawn and fascinated great audiences in Edinburgh and Glasgow in the winter of 1880. The most important additions consisted of some farther applications of the critical method to the text of the historical books, and the incorporation of some fresh points in his treatment of the Psalter which had appeared in his *Encyclopædia* article. It was his intention also to bring out a new and larger edition of the *Prophets of Israel*, which had long been out of print. He was anxious to complete the work by including in it chapters on Jeremiah and some of the later prophets who did not find a place in the original lectures. But this purpose was frustrated by his illness.

Mention should also be made of the fact that he con-

tributed some interesting papers to the *Journal of Philology*: especially worthy of notice are two "On the Forms of Divination and Magic enumerated in Deut. xviii. 10, 11" (vol. xiii., pp. 273-287; and vol. xiv., pp. 113-128).

But important as are his published works, there was never a scholar of whom it was more true that he himself was greater than the works he gave to the world. I think it was perhaps in attending his lectures that one best learned to appreciate his mental powers. He possessed a familiarity with the details of Arab history and literature,—with the topography of Mecca and the other important centres,—with the names and relations of the very numerous Arab tribes,—and with the usages of Arab life in ancient and modern times, which enabled him to render luminous all the Arabic works he read. Here, as in the case of Hebrew literature, he showed always that "grasp of the concrete realities of ancient history" which Professor Bevan has justly noted as pre-eminently distinguishing him. A favourite subject was the history of the Arabs before Islam: like all recent investigators, he distrusted the later traditions which had passed through the distorting medium of Mohammedan prejudice. The exactness of his scholarship, shown especially in skilful analysis of the most difficult details of Arabic syntax, taught a lesson that no pupil of his could ever forget. His reading of the poets was rendered delightful by his keen literary sense, and by a peculiar appreciation of the moods and humours of the Semitic mind. However small the number of his students—and Arabic has not many votaries in this or any other University—he gave them of his best. It was one of the lessons he taught by example as by precept that every lecture ought to be thoroughly prepared, its material arranged and digested beforehand.

Much might be written about his marvellous conversation—about the floods of information he would pour forth

on almost any subject, to the delight and interest of his listeners. But it is time to draw this imperfect sketch to a close. And in doing so, I would just remark that in Robertson Smith the passion for exact science, which is characteristic of our day, was united with a deep regard for the higher aspects of truth, and reverence for all that was great and worthy in the past. Owing to the almost unexampled range of his studies, he seemed to bring out any subject that he dealt with into a clearer light than is given to most men. The greatness of his knowledge affected all the parts, and his logical faculty never failed to answer to any demand upon it, so that his mind was fully master of all the materials it had stored. On the other hand, not less striking was his insight into the spiritual side of life. No one can read his works without being struck by his reverence for sacred things—a reverence which, being mingled with confidence that all discovery of truth is in the end a good, never interfered to bias his judgment or check the progress of investigation. In his eyes all history was the expression of a living Will; it was the student's business to go fearlessly ahead in honest enquiry, because every addition to our knowledge of human history is a farther step towards understanding the purpose of God.

NORMAN McLEAN.

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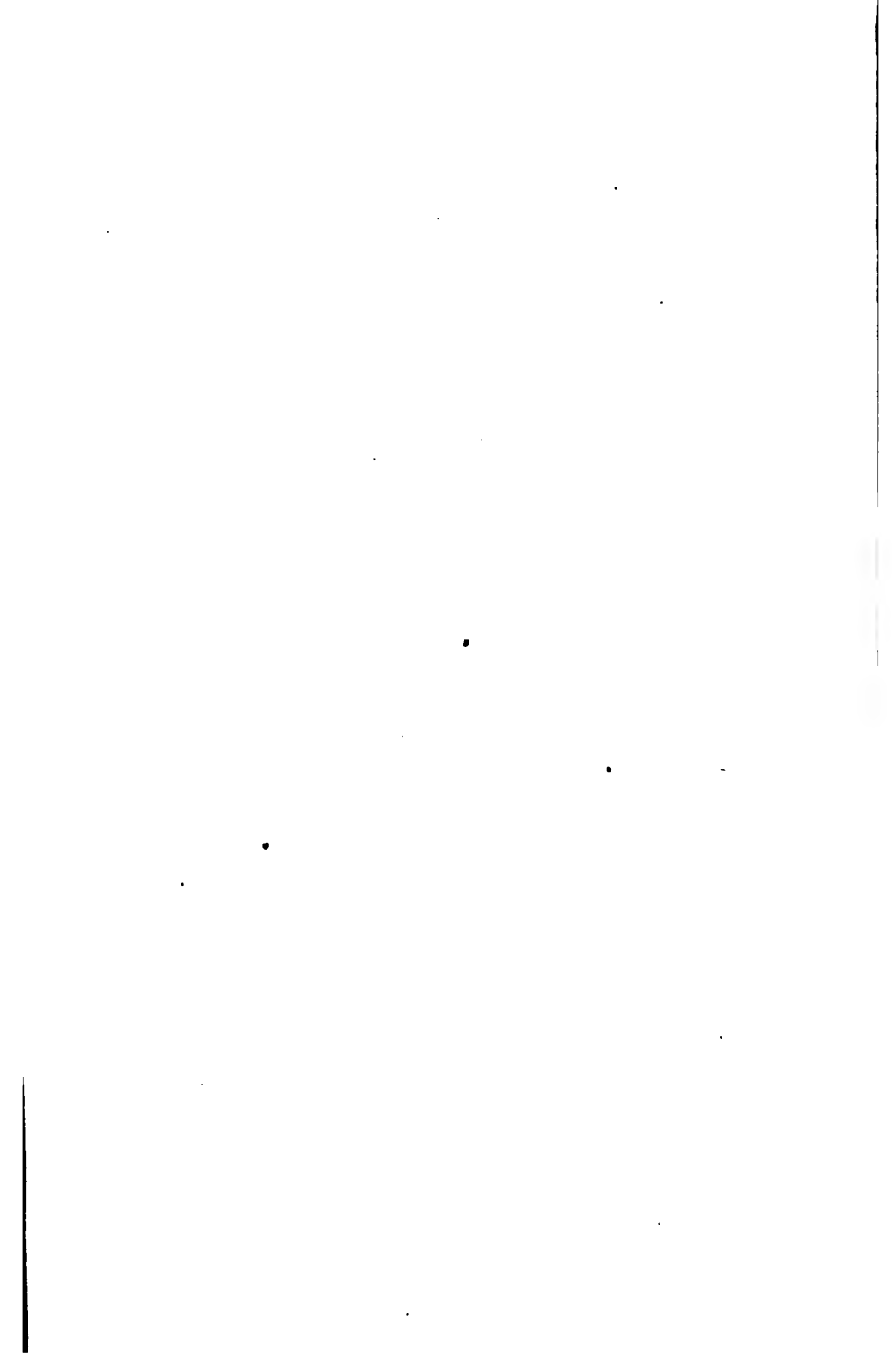
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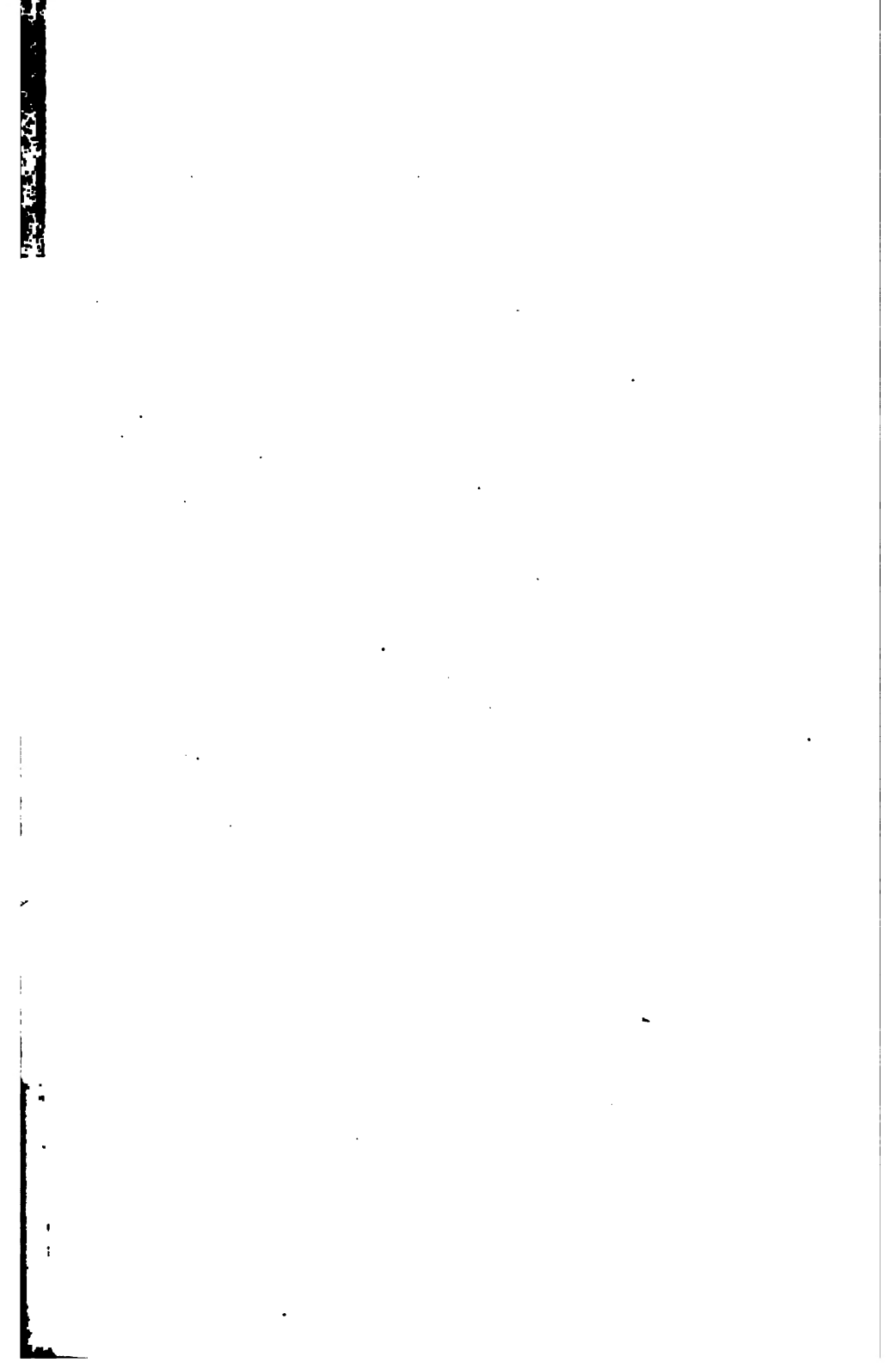
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